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# THE LIBRARY.

A REVIEW (QUARTERLY).

EDITED BY

J. Y. W. MACALISTER and A. W. POLLARD, in collaboration with  
KONRAD BURGER, LÉOPOLD DELISLE, MELVIL DEWEY,  
and RICHARD GARNETT, C.B.

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### WHAT FIFTEENTH-CENTURY BOOKS ARE ABOUT.

#### II. DIVINITY.



TO attempt a complete survey of this immense division of medieval literature, would, even after a lifetime of study, demand unusual powers in any writer. One might almost assert that every book dating from the true Middle Age—from the fall of Rome to the Italian Renaissance—was written with an ethical purpose, and could be classed under some subdivision of this head. Nothing but an intimate knowledge of the book itself can be a guide. 'Le Livre du Roy Modus et de la Royne Ratio' is at a first glance a story; the rest of the title, 'lequel fait mencion commant on doit deviser de toutes manieres de chasses,' would seem to show that it is a book on hunting; it was really written for the moralizations—'et apres moralise sur les dictes bestes les dix commandemens de la loy et des sept peches mortelx.' The few books of importance which do not bear this theological intention, like the 'Romance of the Rose,' were the subject of continual attack as 'soul-destroying.' We shall not, however,

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stretch our nets so wide as to include books whose main interest is of another kind, but limit our attention to works really theological in character.

A somewhat simple main classification of divinity books presents itself, though secondary divisions are very difficult, and those we have adopted have very loose boundaries. The first class would comprise Bibles and Service Books; the second, Patristic Divinity, including everything which can be certainly attributed to the time of St. Bernard, or to take a round date, 1160, a year or two after his death; the third, works of Scholastic Divinity, written between the rise of Scholasticism under the influence of the medieval University and the invention of Printing; the fourth, Contemporary Divinity, books printed during the lives of their authors, and often written with printing in view. It is obvious that the number of books in each of these three classes will not give a just idea either of the original bulk of the literature represented or of its importance. Only those works of the Fathers would be printed which were found necessary in the fifteenth century; only those Scholastic treatises which had firmly fixed themselves in the curriculum of its education. In selecting books for publication the fifteenth-century printers and their patrons judged the older ones almost entirely from the standpoint of strict utility, and little was printed then from any other motive.

Before dealing with printed books it may be convenient to remind the reader that the majority of the early block-books deal with religious subjects in a popular way. Their favourite subjects are Bible

History, the Immaculate Conception, the Apocalypse, Antichrist, and The Way to Die Well. Over two-thirds of those described by Proctor are of this class, the remainder being Calendars, Fortune-telling books, etc. The early history of these block-books and their relation to the invention of printing are still matters for speculation.

The Bible holds pride of place among early printed books, both by the number of editions and by the magnificence of their printing. If not the first complete book printed (which is most unlikely, considering its size and the time it would take to print), it is the oldest which survives in a complete form. A whole literature has been written about the 42-line and the 36-line editions, to which nothing can be profitably added here. Hain enumerates 111 Latin Bibles (Copinger 124, some of them doubtful), 13 of which contain the glosses (or explanatory notes) of Walafridus Strabo, from Rabanus Maurus, and Alcuin, etc. (the *glossa ordinaria*), that of Anselm, of Laon (the *glossa interlinearis*), and the commentary of Nicholas de Lyra. The first Bible was printed at Mainz before August, 1456, the second at Mainz or Bamberg, the third at Strassburg before 1460; Augsburg, Basel, and Köln printed editions about 1470; Sweynheym and Pannartz at Rome in 1471; Venice editions date from about the same year; and it was printed at Naples and at Paris in 1476. If we could argue from the experience of William Morris in printing 'The Golden Legend,' the least possible space of time necessary for the production of any of the proto-editions of the Bible must have been con-

siderably over two years; but the possibility of work being carried on simultaneously at several different presses, and on the other hand the slow rate at which the old screw presses could be worked, makes such calculations very hazardous. The number of fifteenth-century editions shows that there was no lack of purchasers for them, though their price must have been considerable. There are 32 printed in Germany, 22 in Italy, 16 in Switzerland, and 6 in France, in Proctor's list alone. The ordinary reader, accustomed to think of the Bible in the vernacular as the fruit of the Reformation, will be surprised to hear of the existence of twelve editions of the German Bible, three in Saxon, four in French, eleven in Italian (of two or three different versions), a Spanish, a Dutch, and two Bohemian editions. Hebrew printing is represented by three Bibles, eight Penta-teuchs, three editions of the Prophets, two of the Proverbs, and six of the Psalter, nearly all with commentaries. Of parts of the Bible we have to add two editions of the Apocalypse, a translation of Job, and 55 Latin, two Greek, and 22 vernacular versions in seven languages of the Psalms.

Of Service Books, the principal varieties are Breviaries, Horae, Missals, Minor Offices and Directories, and Psalters. Some account of these books may be found in Battifol's 'History of the Roman Breviary,' and, in Mr. Jenner's article in 'The Library,' New Series, Vol. IV. The 'Breviary' contains the proper lessons and collects for the daily offices of the Church which are read by all clerks and religious throughout the year. In the fifteenth century every province might have, and every Re-

ligious Order (with the exception of the Franciscans or Friars Minors who used the Roman 'Breviary') had, a 'Use' of its own, while the 'Breviarium Romanum' was in its origin only the 'Breviary' in use at the Court of Rome. The Missal contains the proper collects and lessons for use at Mass during the year, and varied (to a slighter extent) similarly with diocese and Order. The 'Hours of the Virgin' were a form of the Offices more popular in origin, and suited for use by the laity. Over 200 editions of the 'Breviary' (87 in Proctor) are known, the Uses of some 50 dioceses and Monastic Orders. About the same number of Missals are known. The printed Missals and Breviaries in English are of the York and Sarum (or Salisbury) Uses: a Hereford Missal was printed in 1502. In France the chief Uses were those of Paris, Rouen, and Lyons: in Italy, those of Rome and Milan: in Germany, owing to the multiplication of sovereign powers, the number of Uses was very great. About 118 editions of the 'Horae' are known, with special Uses for several French-speaking dioceses, Anjou, Liège, Paris, Toulouse, Rouen, etc. The Sarum Use was followed in England. A number of special Psalters for monastic use were printed separately, although they form part of an ordinary 'Breviary.' The 'occasional' services were printed in Ordinals, Obsequials, and Ceremonials, etc., but in small number; a list of them will be found on p. 356. The Hymns formed part of the 'Breviary' or Missal, but are sometimes printed separately (about eight editions).

Among the Fathers the favourites were Jerome,

Lactantius, Augustine, and Chrysostom. The demand for Lactantius was almost entirely Italian. Of the 13 editions of his complete works, only one was printed in Germany (at Rostock in 1476), while it was the second of the books (now extant) printed in Italy if not the first. Jerome, too, was an Italian taste as regards his complete Epistles: Proctor gives nine editions in Italy (it is the first dated book printed at Rome), to four in Germany and three in Switzerland. Augustine and Chrysostom were printed a treatise at a time, the latter only in translation. Hain gives 166 entries under Augustine, of which more than half are German-printed, though his 'City of God' was printed by Sweynheym and Pannartz at Subiaco and at Rome, and was only twice printed in Germany: its attraction for Italian readers was the mass of Classical legend embodied in it. Chrysostom is also a German taste, the proportion being 5 Italian editions to 20 German. A very favourite book was the 'Lives of the Fathers,' by St. Jerome, of which Proctor describes 38 editions not only in Latin, but in German, Italian, French, and English. Anselm was a German favourite—no editions being printed in Italy or France; other works which failed to arouse interest elsewhere than in Germany were the 'Martyrologium,' 'The Prophecies of Methodius,' and the 'Life of Barlaam and Josapat,' in which the Buddha became a Christian saint. The works of Leo the Great were printed five times in Italy and once in Switzerland and in Germany, while those of St. Gregory were more equally distributed, over one-third the total num-

ber being printed in Germany, and one-fourth in Italy. About the same proportions hold for the works of St. Bernard. The works of St. Denis the Areopagite were very naturally printed at Paris, near the abbey of which he was the titular patron. As an approximation to the proportion Patristic literature bears to the mass of Incunabula, we may estimate that 470 of the 9,900 books described by Proctor fall under this head, or about 5 per cent.

It is not without reason that St. Bernard was named as the limit of Patristic theology. The greater part of his life was spent in conflict with the new spirit of inquiry fostered by the Aristotelian dialectic, and before his death the book was written which became the text book of Scholastic theology, the Sentences of Peter Lombard (d. 1160), Bishop of Paris. The 'Master of Sentences,' as he was universally called in the Middle Ages, collected the opinions of the Fathers and Doctors of the Church on all the points on which dispute was possible, and arranged them *pro* and *contra*. The small number of editions of the work (19) recorded by Hain is no test of its popularity. The works of St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Bonaventure, Alexander Ales, Duns Scotus, Albertus Magnus, and many more are simply commentaries on it. Duns Scotus is perhaps the most popular of the commentators, Ockham, and Richard de Mediavilla (Middleville), with those already named, coming after. Proctor's list of Incunabula contains about 140 volumes of their works. But large as this contribution was, it falls into nothingness when compared with the chief influence of the book, its imprint upon the methods of

discussion and literary workmanship in the Middle Age. Arguments were marshalled, objections were raised, and these in turn answered, until finally a determination was arrived at. The method of proceeding was the same, whether the subject were law, philosophy, or theology.

In Doctrinal Theology, though this period is distinguished by the teaching of the great theologians of the Middle Age, St. Thomas, Bonaventure, Gerson, Albertus, etc., their works, with the exception of those of St. Thomas, are not the ones most often printed. They were regarded as the mines from which the writers of handbooks and textbooks extracted the materials for books of a more manageable size, such as Nicholas de Blony 'de Sacramentis,' Alphabetical dictionaries like Nider's 'Preceptorium,' the 'Aurea Biblia' of Antonio Rampigollis, and the 'Compendium theologicæ Veritatis,' the 'Pantheologia' of Raynerius de Pisis, the 'Stella Clericorum,' and a host of Smaller Manuals, 'Specula,' and so on. Works on Devotion and on Morals make up, as was to be expected, about one-fifth of the output of the period. The most important contribution of the Middle Age to the world's literature in this class is the 'Imitatio Christi.' About seventy fifteenth-century editions of the book are known to Hain and Proctor, of which the British Museum contains about forty. Commentaries on Scripture, and abridgements, etc., form a large class. The most famous commentary is that of Nicholas de Lyra, which is often printed with the Bible as the Glossa Magna, and the abridgement of Bible and Gloss best known is that of Peter Comestor, the

'Master of Histories,' in his '*Historia Scholastica*,' the source, as far as popular literature is concerned, of many medieval myths. Volumes of sermons and homilies bulk very largely in this period. Preaching came into fashion with the growth of the friars in the thirteenth century. It had hitherto been in great measure restricted to the bishops and a few of the more instructed clergy; now the parish priests were forced by the competition of the travelling preachers to deliver regular sermons, which in many cases had to be obtained ready made, for it was recognized that the presence of the qualities desirable in a priest did not ensure that he was a good preacher. Even in Charlemagne's time a large collection of Homilies had been made for the use of unlettered preachers, and now volumes of sermons began to swarm. They are usually drawn up in series, of which the chief are '*de sanctis*'—Sermons for the saints' days throughout the year '*de tempore*'—for the Sundays and greater feasts, and '*Quadragesimale*,' for Lent; and there are besides many courses on special subjects. Typical examples of these volumes are the '*Quadragesimale*' of Johannes Gritsch, the '*Sermones de tempore et de sanctis*' of Johannes Herolt, the '*Predigten*' of Johannes Tauler, and—fateful name—the '*Sermones dormi secure*' of Johannes de Verdenne. Very often these sermons contain 'examples,' little anecdotes, popular stories, and the like, which throw much light on the conditions of the time. The Sermons of St. Bernardin of Sienna are, for example, among our earliest authorities on the history of medieval card games.

Another large class of books appealed to the parish priest in his quality of confessor. A number of these are anonymous, the names of their authors have been lost, and no one can say who wrote the 'Lavacrum Conscientiae' or the 'Manuale Confessorum,' or the 'Penitentionarius.' Andreas Escobar compiled the 'Modus Confitendi,' Johannes of Freiburg the 'Summa Confessorum,' reprinted many times in German, and Johannes Nider another 'Manuale Confessorum,' a very popular book. One little treatise is not unamusing: it is the 'Manuale Confessorum metricum,' a Handbook for Confessors put into rhyme for the sake of priests with bad memories. All these books are intensely practical, and the Casuistry which Pascal warred against can hardly be said to exist, despite the name of Escobar.

The most important part of a parish priest's work was his administration of the Seven Sacraments, particularly of the Mass, and the proper conduct of the other ceremonies in which he took part. William Durandus, who died a bishop at Rome in 1296 after having been Dean of Chartres, explains in his 'Rationale divinatorum Officiorum' the signification of every ceremony, and the symbolism of every vessel and vestment used in them. The 'Rationale' ran through over forty-five editions in the century, of which Proctor enumerates thirty; it is the source of the so-called mysticism in Huysmann's 'La Cathedrale.' The books used by the clergy were not, however, as elaborate as this, and were much more practical in character. Henry of Hassia's 'Secreta Sacerdotum, que sibi placent vel displicent in Missa,' or a work of Guido de Monte Rocherii, the

‘Manipulus Curatorum, Officia Sacerdotum secundum Ordinem Septem Sacramentorum’ (thirty-five editions in Proctor) instructed them in the things that must be done, and those that must be avoided, in the celebration of the Sacraments, without embarrassing them with lengthy details, and besides these, there were a large number of smaller treatises in use.

The government of the church, apart from the Canon Law, which is a literature in itself, is responsible for a quite considerable number of volumes, dealing with the Constitutions of Councils and Synods, the privileges of the clergy, and of Monastic and other Orders. With these may be classed, for convenience, a number of works in praise of the monastic life. The controversy with the Jews was carried on at intervals throughout the period, the most popular work being an ‘Epistola contra Judeos’ by a certain Rabbi Samuel, which ran through a dozen editions and was translated into German and Italian. It purports to have been written *circa* 1000 A.D. from Fez to a Rabbi Isaac, Master of the Synagogue, and to have been translated into Latin from Arabic by a Dominican friar in 1339. It is generally accompanied by the supposititious letter of Pontius Pilate to the Emperor Tiberius, giving an account of the trial of Christ.

The cult of the Virgin Mary, and the assertion of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, prominently taught by the Franciscans or Friars Minor, and as eagerly combatted by the Dominicans or Friars Preachers, is represented by a fairly considerable literature, some of it popular in character, and some of it very doctrinal. The most curious product

of the cult is an adaptation of the Psalter by St. Bonaventure, the General Minister of the Franciscans, in which every Psalm is turned to the praise of the Virgin. The controversy about the Immaculate Conception was at its hottest in the early years of the fourteenth century, and a Festival in its honour was appointed in 1389, but the dispute, stilled by the Reformation, was only definitely closed by the pronouncement of Pius IX in 1854.

So far the literary product of the period considered has been mainly scholastic in character; we now come to what should more properly be called Mediaeval. It may be divided into three classes, Popular Moral Treatises, Lives of the Saints, and Moralizations. It is in many cases utterly impossible to affix more than an approximate date to these productions; some of them may have been called into existence by the facilities for their circulation, but the majority are undoubtedly older than the invention of Printing. In Popular Moral Treatises, I include not only such tracts as the 'Ars moriendi,' the 'Ars bene vivendi et moriendi,' 'Auslegung des Lebens Christi,' 'Büchlein vom Leben unseres Herrn,' 'Dialogus inter clericum et militem,' etc. etc., but also such works as the 'Antichrist,' 'Pilate's letter to Tiberius,' 'Signa quindecim horribilia de fine mundi,' 'Belial,' or 'Litigatio Satanae contra genus humanum,' and the 'Cordiale' or Four Last Things (Death, the Last Judgment, Hell, and Heaven). Many of these books are illustrated, some are block-books. The 'Antichrist' is one of the most interesting of them, it is founded on a mixture of early Christian, Mohammedan, and Gnostic superstitions, illustrated by a

number of fine German woodcuts representing the principal episodes of his future career. 'The Dance of Death' in its various forms, French, German, etc., is another book of the kind.

The Lives of the Saints is another important division of popular divinity. Proctor gives nearly two hundred volumes, of which seventy are editions in one form or another of Jacobus de Voragine's 'Golden Legend.' Of this important book, French, German, Dutch, Italian, Spanish, and English versions were printed during the century. No other important collection of legends was printed except that of Peter de Natalibus, since the 'Vitas Patrum' of Jerome was in existence, but there are a great number of separate lives of Saints, the most important among them being St. Bonaventure's life of St. Francis. There are besides a quite considerable number of Religious plays, the earliest form of printed dramatic literature, founded on incidents in the life of Christ and the Saints, chief among them being the Florentine 'Rappresentazioni,' so famous for their beautiful woodcuts. St. Brandon's Book, a Celtic romance masquerading as the life of a Saint, was not unpopular in the period, together with some Visions of Purgatory and Hell, like Tunstall's, and the description of St. Patrick's Purgatory.

The last division, the Moralizations, is very characteristic of the medieval mind. All classes of men loved stories, but clerks felt it to be a sort of obligation that they should tend to edification in some way or other. The result is that many collections of stories had morals and explanations fitted to them, sometimes suitably, at others with a very strained

connection. Thus we have 'Æsop moralisatus,' 'Cato cum moralisatione,' 'Donatus moralisatus,' etc., in which the fables of the first, the moral distiches of the second, and the grammatical rules of the third are brought to a doctrinal interpretation without any very great distortion of sense. On the other hand, such a book as the 'Ovid moralised' sets out a spiritual explanation of the Metamorphoses which those interesting but thoroughly Pagan stories will hardly bear. Some of the Moralizations are Eastern story-books, as Johannes de Capua's 'Directorium vitæ humanæ' and the 'Baarlam and Josapat' already referred to; some are collections of anecdotes for preachers' use, and some are allegories. The 'Gesta Romanorum' is a collection which may be read as a favourable sample both of medieval stories and of the moralizations attached to them: it contains the 'casket' story of the 'Merchant of Venice.' The 'Physiologus' of Theobaldus is another famous collection of animal stories, which lies at the root of much medieval symbolism; it contains a popular natural history of certain selected beasts, birds, fishes, and stones, with an application of their properties to Christ and the Church. The 'Dialogus Creaturarum' was a collection very popular in the Low Countries. Another variety of Moralizations is found in the book of Jacobus de Cessolis on the Game of Chess, of which, besides the versions in Latin, German, French, Saxon, Italian, and Dutch, an English translation by Caxton was twice printed in the fifteenth century. Its title shows its scope: 'Incipit solacium ludi schaccorum, scilicet, regiminis ac morum hominum et officium virorum nobilium, quorum si quis formas

menti impresserit, bellum ipsum et ludi virtutem cordi faciliter poterit obtinere.' A similar work was the 'Kaetspel ghemoraliseert,' printed in 1498. The earliest mention of cards is in a similar work, which, however, remains in manuscript up to the present day. When printing was invented cards had got beyond being moralized. 'The Dialogue of Solomon and Marcolphus' was another medieval favourite, of Eastern origin and great antiquity, which lies on the borderland of these moralizations. It contains many of the simple riddles which were held great wisdom by our forefathers. Guillaume de Deguileville's 'Pilgrimage of the Soul' was rather an allegorical poem than a moralization, but it may be conveniently included with them. The first book treated of the life of man, the second of the soul separated from the body, the third of the life of Christ. A fourth book was subsequently added, and the whole turned into prose. Caxton translated it into English, and some see in it the germ of Bunyan's 'Pilgrim's Progress.'

When we turn from the books dating from the Scholastic period to those of Contemporary Writers we are conscious of a complete change in character. Nor is this to be wondered at. The competition between the best of former writers on an exhausted subject and contemporary authors is not very keen. Thus we find 21 contemporary books on the Sentences against 140 old ones, 40 commentaries on Scripture against 167. There was, too, a change in the direction of public interest. Italy was given up to the Renaissance, its production was purely literary. Germany was more devotional, superstitious even, and the first clouds of the witchcraft mania

appear in the shape of books such as the 'Malleus Maleficarum' (nine editions in six years) and others like it. Doring's celebration of the Miracle, by which the Host was revealed as a human body when stolen by the Jews, is another sign of the times. Another use was found for the printing-press in the publication of official documents such as Bulls, Indulgences, and the Rules and Taxes of the Apostolic Chancery, of which the British Museum has nearly a hundred.

Devotional and moral treatises form about one-sixth of the contemporary production. Few great names are found amongst their authors. The 'Speculum vitae humanae' of Rodericus Zamorensis is perhaps the most notable book on Morals. It sets out to give directions for the duties incumbent on every state of life, spiritual and temporal, and incidentally throws some light on the social conditions of the day. The contemporary Doctrinal works contain no great names except that of St. Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence, whose 'Summa,' in four large volumes, was several times reprinted. A glance at the titles of the minor works shows that the subject of Predestination was one much before the public mind. The activity of Savonarola led to the formation of a small literature of his works: the British Museum contains about a hundred of his tracts, besides a few by his followers. Cardinal Turrecremata was the only contemporary commentator on Scripture much esteemed by his time (22 editions).

On the Sacraments the principal writers were William of Gouda, whose 'Expositio Mysteriorum

Missae' ran through nearly a score editions, and Johannes de Lapide, a theologian of Paris, whose 'Resolutorium dubiorum' was a treatise of the defects of the Mass, of which Proctor quotes twelve editions. A number of shorter tracts were published, on this and similar subjects. Antoninus was also a very popular writer on the subject of Confession. His 'Confessionale' ran through fifty-five editions at least, either in the Latin, or one of its Italian forms. The only other work on Casuistry with anything like the same reputation was the 'Summa Angelica' of Angelus de Clavasio, of which Proctor cites seventeen editions. The cult of the Virgin Mary and the confraternities of the Rosary produced sixty-five editions of thirty-seven books, and the fourteen editions in Hain of a book by Joannes Tuberinus represent an old tradition, revived in Trent, of the sacrificial murder of Christian Children by Jews, of which two were in German.

In an age of declamation and oratory, sermons were naturally produced freely. Robert Caraccioli is responsible for a large proportion of them, nearly a quarter of those cited by Proctor. Though an Italian from the South, his fame extended into Germany, where at least fifteen volumes of his sermons were printed. Michael of Hungary was the most famous of German preachers, his three volumes of sermons ran through some twenty editions; while Oliver Maillard, the famous French preacher, was responsible for ten editions; and the 'Queen's Garden,' a collection of sermons for the ecclesiastical year by Meffreth, a Saxon priest, had

some merit. The sermons of Leonard de Utino ran through more than twenty editions, all printed after his death. A considerable number of separate sermons were printed, sometimes under the title of 'Orations.' Johannes Melber published an alphabetical preacher's guide, a 'Vocabularius predican-tium,' a sort of commonplace book, which ran through a score of editions.

One of the subjects which threatened the peace of Europe was the growing power of the Turks, then, as it proved, approaching its maximum. The letters of Aeneas Sylvius (Pius II) and of the Emperor Mahomet were reprinted several times, and altogether there are thirty-three books bearing on the subject in the list before us. Books dealing with privileges, religious orders, etc., amount to about fifty. Lives of the Saints, even including Platina's Lives of the Popes, are less still. Taking the whole list of fifteenth century books in the British Museum the contemporary theological printing, that is, of works written by men who were alive after 1460, is about 12 per cent.

One feels on looking back over this summary account that its interest is as restricted as that of the Homeric Catalogue of the Ships. Some Greek of old, patiently waiting for the mention of his city, or some modern historian or archaeologist, may profess to be interested in the latter, but how shall one induce a reader of to-day to glance over this catalogue of a dead literature? How can one particularize Scholastic Theology to a generation which has not read the Sentences, to which St. Thomas and Albert are but names? How many, except a

few Roman Catholic theologians, have read a line of all this literature with the exception of the 'Imitation' and perhaps scraps of the 'Confessions of St. Augustine'? To those who have found in these centuries a congenial study, the few words of appreciation which one could have found it in one's power to append to their mention would have added nothing to the brilliant background of history which lies behind each one of them.

A fine taste in the titles of their books must at least be conceded medieval writers. We have already had occasion to remark that the title is no guide to the contents of the volume. Many of them have a vague odour of garden closes—'The Rose-garden of triple Flowers,' 'The little Rose-garden in the Vale of Tears,' 'The Queen's Garden,' 'The Rose-garden of Sermons,' 'The Rose-garden among Thorns,' 'The Bundle of Myrrh,' 'The Garden of the Soul,' 'The Flower of Flowers.' 'The Washing Bowl of Conscience,' 'The Pearl of the Decretals,' 'The Flower of Wills,' etc., recall some of the titles of Rabelais, which indeed owe their point to their close verisimilitude. Others are more warlike, as 'The Fortress of Faith,' or legal, as 'The Reprobation of Pilate's Sentence,' 'Satan's Action against the Human Race,' etc. There is a whole literature in the name 'Viola Animae' for a Martyrology.

One may close the article by an approximate analysis of the divinity books in Proctor's Index. As regard the subdivisions they are perhaps unscientific, but one is cheered to reflect that in a scientific classification by no less an authority than

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Mlle. Pellechet, a dream-book was classed under 'Commentaries on Holy Scripture,' and that all systems have their faults. One hopes in future to have an opportunity of making it more searching.

### I. BIBLES AND SERVICE BOOKS.

BIBLES. Hebrew 3, Latin 92, German 11, Saxon 3, Italian 7, Bohem. 2, Holl. 1, Fr. 1 . . . . .	120
Parts. New Test. 3, Hebrew parts 11, Psalters 61, Apoc. 1 . . . . .	76
SERVICE BOOKS. Breviary (Diurnale, Nocturnale) . .	87
Horæ (Cursus, Officium B. V., Ghetidenbock) . .	97
Missal . . . . .	70
Others — Cerimoniale, Graduale, Obsequiale, Special Offices, Ordinarius, Pontificale, Pro- cessionarium, Visitatio Infirmorum, Agenda Ecclesiæ, Benedictionale, Manuale, Rituale Ambros., Antiphonarium, Collectarius, Epis- tles and Gospels (Plenarium), Directorium Breviarii, Directorium Missæ, Ordo Missæ, Ordo Divinus, Registrum, Regulæ rituales, Collectura, Gebet bok . . . . .	67
Hymns and Sequences (some with Expositions) . .	37

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## THEOLOGICAL BOOKS.

	II.	III.	IV.
	Patristic, Scholastic, Contemporary.		
Devotional and Moral . . . .	165	426	183
Commentaries on Scripture . . .	28	167	42
Sermons (vols.) . . . .	77	230	220
Doctrinal . . . . .	45	243	69
Sacraments . . . . .	—	76	37
Ceremonies . . . . .	—	132	37
Confession . . . . .	—	127	120
Mary, cult of . . . . .	7	69	65
Saints, lives of . . . . .	94 <sup>1</sup>	198	46
Councils, Privileges, Rel. Orders, etc. . . . .	—	65	59
Letters . . . . .	34	—	13
Opuscula . . . . .	20	—	92 <sup>2</sup>
Jews, Turks, Heretics, etc. . .	—	27	56
Sentences and Com. . . . .	—	141	21
Popular Moral Treatises . . .	—	150	—
Moralizations . . . . .	—	111	—
Witchcraft . . . . .	—	—	27
Savonarola . . . . .	—	—	106
	470	2162	1193
			3825
			<u>4379</u>

We thus arrive at the rough result that about 45 per cent. of the books in Proctor's Index are theological in character, without taking into account the enormous literature of the Canon Law. It may be interesting to compare the result with that of the two libraries cited in my last article.

<sup>1</sup> 'Eccl. History,' 41.

<sup>2</sup> Bulls, etc.

### 358 FIFTEENTH-CENTURY BOOKS.

The number of theological books in the St. Geneviève library at Paris, and their classification on the official French system is as follows:

Bibles	.	.	.	.	.	.	26
Commentaries	.	.	.	.	.	.	20
Liturgies	.	.	.	.	.	.	78
Councils, Privileges, etc.	.	.	.	.	.	.	27
Theologians to sixth century	.	.	.	.	.	.	42
„ twelfth century	.	.	.	.	.	.	24
„ thirteenth century	.	.	.	.	.	.	38
„ fourteenth century	.	.	.	.	.	.	29
„ fifteenth century	.	.	.	.	.	.	63
Sermons	.	.	.	.	.	.	29
Devotional	.	.	.	.	.	.	93
							<hr/> 469
Total Incunabula	.	.	.	.	.	.	1209
							<hr/>
Proportion of Religious works	.	.	.	.	.	.	39%.

In the case of the Royal Library at Copenhagen, where the total number of incunabula catalogued is 2,562, the number of theological books is 1,108 (Bibles 54, Service Books 57), or forty-three per cent. of the whole. It would seem then that as the number of incunabula in a library grows, the proportion of theological books tends to increase to nearly one half.

ROBERT STEELE.

## RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE.

**T**HE question whether genuine love-letters should be published was vehemently discussed when the Browning Letters appeared a few years ago. There is no need to re-open the controversy. Every one will admit that there are love-letters and love-letters, just as there are lovers and lovers. The student of human character and the student of literary expression distinctly gain by acquaintance with the love-letters of Dorothy Osborne, Dean Swift (the 'Journal to Stella'), Richard Steele, Prince Bismarck, the Brownings, Goethe (to Frau von Stein), Balzac, and Mérimée. But I cannot see that gain of any kind is to be obtained by reading the recently published volume of letters of George Sand and Alfred de Musset. They were both great writers, but they were not great in their love-affairs. The one kind of greatness is by no means a corollary of the other, and I have sought in vain for passages in the letters that have a literary charm or illuminate character. They cover a period from 1833 to 1835. George Sand was heedless of the wise advice contained in the old adage 'to be off with the old love before you are on with the new'; and it is scarcely edifying to read in her letters to De Musset her justification of her relations with Signor Pagello,

his successor in her affections. De Musset, however, it is only fair to state, seems to have been ready and willing to be taken on again at any moment. If the persons concerned liked that kind of thing, it is their affair solely; nothing is gained by inviting the public to look on. In one place only does De Musset rise to what might be expected of him. He remarks that it is necessary to have faith in something, to have an end in view, a luminous triangle hung in the vault of the temple called the world, and continues:

Marcher librement dans le temple, et avoir à son côté un être capable de comprendre pourquoi une pensée, un livre, un mot, une fleur font que vous vous arrêtez, et que vous relevez la tête vers le triangle céleste. Exercer les nobles facultés de l'homme est un grand bien, voilà pourquoi la poésie est une belle chose, mais doubler ses facultés, avoir deux ailes pour monter au ciel, presser un cœur et une intelligence sur son intelligence et sur son cœur, c'est le bonheur suprême. Dieu n'en a pas fait plus pour l'homme; voilà pourquoi l'amour est plus beau que la poésie.

Voilà pourquoi aussi je tiens tant à l'intelligence dans la femme que j'aimerai.

As a corrective, the 'Correspondance entre George Sand et Gustave Flaubert,' recently united in one volume, should be read over again. Just as the De Musset correspondence reveals what *amour* was with George Sand, so do the Flaubert letters reveal what *amitié* was with her.

Akin to letters are personal memoirs, and the second instalment of those of Mme. Adam, en-

titled "Mes premières Armes. Littéraires et politiques," is full of interest. Almost everybody who was anybody in France between the years 1855 and 1863—statesmen, authors, musicians, painters, critics, figure in its pages, and the light hand of the French woman of charm and genius touches every sort of subject with inimitable grace. Even the reported conversations retain much of their original vivacity. Two instances of successful political prophecy are worth quoting. It seems clear that most intelligent persons, long before the breaking out of the war, had a very strong feeling that Prussia meant to take Alsace and Lorraine. At a dinner-party, while the Suez Canal was in the process of construction, some one remarked 'if it succeeds, England will buy it up.' There is a certain fascination in learning first hand that in the beginning Gounod's 'Faust' was a failure (Mme. Adam was present at the second performance), and in hearing in the same way of the earliest recognition at a *vernissage* at the Salon of the work of the painter Millet. We meet George Sand, About, Sarcey, Gounod, Wagner, Liszt, Berlioz, Hetzel, but perhaps the most attractive of them all is Mme. d'Agoult, who wrote under the name of 'Daniel Stern,' who was the *chère amie* of Liszt, to whom she bore three daughters, the third of whom became the wife of Wagner. Her advice about forming a salon is worth quoting:

Il faut vingt amis et cinq amies pour fonder un salon.

Le bonheur n'est fait que de renoncement et de sagesse. Pour grouper des hommes en nombre et quelques femmes intelligentes autour de soi, il faut avoir l'apparence sereine ou heureuse.

Créer une atmosphère impersonnelle et paisible qui repose, est nécessaire pour retenir l'amitié autour de soi.

Another delightful acquaintance was Mme. de Pierreclos, a niece of Lamartine. She was an exquisite talker, and her method of telling a story was original and inimitable: she allowed her auditors to join in it, so that at the end they almost thought that they had told it. Here is an example:

Croiriez-vous que moi j'ai inspiré de l'amour à M. de Rambuteau?

A M. de Rambuteau? Mais il est très vieux.

Eh bien, il n'y a pas longtemps qu'il ressentit pour moi une passion désordonnée.

Contez-nous cela.

Oh! sa déclaration! Comment fait on d'ordinaire une déclaration?

Avec de belles paroles amoureuses.

Et puis, dans quelle pose?

A genoux.

Justement, voilà! M. de Rambuteau très péniblement se mit à genoux pour me déclarer son amour; il eut des expressions adorables comme, par exemple, celle-ci: 'Belle dame, mon cœur déchiré ne peut se recoudre que par vos mains.' C'est joli, n'est ce pas?

Oh! charmant!

Je laissai donc mon amoureux à mes genoux, s'y appuyant les mains jointes. Il parla, parla, s'échauffant. Devinez ma réponse.

Moi aussi, je vous aime!

Non.

Ma flamme répond à votre flamme.

C'est trop faible.

Bigre! quoi alors?

Je suis à vous!

Je me renverse dans mon fauteuil, lui retirant l'appui de mes genoux. M. de Rambuteau tombe à quatre pattes, gémit; je sonne ma femme de chambre pour le relever, ce qui fut tristement difficile.

'C'est l'une des plus dangereuses aventures de ma vie,' ajoutait gravement Mme. de Pierreclos.

In his new volume of essays, 'Le Double Jardin,' Maeterlinck, whose titles have as little connection with the subjects of his books as Ruskin's titles have with his, has made a great advance in his art. There is here more simplicity, depth, sincere human feeling than in any of his previous writing; and the first essay, 'Sur la mort d'un petit chien,' is a little masterpiece in its kind. There is much humour, a quality with which Maeterlinck was scarcely to be credited, in the dog's view of men and their world. To those who know something of the joys of motoring, the essay 'En Automobile,' will give pleasure. He makes us recognize that the wonderful machine, which carries us if we wish 'à soixante l'heure,' has a soul, and brings us as near as we can get at present to the sensation of flying. Space and time are annihilated, hills are levelled; we feel veritable conquerors of the universe as we ride. Gambling at Monte Carlo, 'Le Temple du Hasard,' and the coming of the southern spring form the subjects of other delightful essays.

Students of comparative literature will do well to read Mr. John Martin Telleen's little book, 'Milton dans la Littérature Française.' The author is an American, but his nationality is not betrayed by his French. His object is to show how Milton was appreciated in France during the eighteenth century

and part of the nineteenth, and what was his influence on French poets. It is a pity that the criticisms of Voltaire and of Chateaubriand on Milton, each of excellence and interest in its way, are seldom alluded to by English critics. A capital summary will be found in Mr. Telleen's book. He also reminds us of the numerous French translations of Milton that exist. Besides that of Chateaubriand, which is too literal, and that of Delille, which is too free, there are a dozen or more not without merit. Milton strongly influenced De Vigny in such poems as 'Moïse,' and 'Eloa,' and appears as a character in his historical novel 'Cinq-Mars.' He appears likewise in Victor Hugo's drama 'Cromwell.' André Chénier imitated Milton in 'Suzanne.' Indeed Mr. Telleen's essay is a surprising revelation of the large place held by Milton in French literature.

Carl Busse has written a very interesting new short biography of Annette von Droste-Hülshoff, 'Deutschlands grösste Dichterin,' the poetess who, although less great, occupies much the same position in Germany as Mrs. Browning does in England. Member of a noble Westphalian family, she was born in 1797 and died in 1848. The difficulties in the way of her career were very great. Even now women of the middle class in Germany do not find it easy to pursue a professional calling, and are often looked at askance by their friends if they persist in so doing. In the early years of the nineteenth century it was unheard of for a female member of the aristocracy to come before the public as a poet. She might write verse in an amateurish

way to please herself if she wished, but no well conducted young woman would dream of publishers and critics and a serious literary life. Annette's health was bad, and no lover or husband came to release her from the domestic martyrdom. The one bright spot in her somewhat arid life was her affection for Levin Schücking, the son of her greatest woman friend, and he had an extraordinary influence for good on her work. But a pseudo-maternal feeling for one seventeen years her junior could not be wholly satisfactory, and when he married the friendship ceased. Annette Droste-Hülshoff was undoubtedly a great poet, and might have been a greater one had she not suffered from the traditions and hindrances of her rank, and from the conventions of her time regarding women. Although she lacks Mrs. Browning's lyric inspiration, her appreciation of nature, her profound religious faith, and her sincere love of humanity give her a prominent place in the hierarchy of German poets. It is scarcely too much to say that she originated the poetic realism that has been carried in a direct line from her through Theodor Storm to Detlev von Liliencron. Her work, perhaps, is more interesting to psychologists than to lovers of fine poetry; but there exists always a certain class of mind that would be more interested by her, and by such a poet as Hebbel, than by Goethe. Although she was passionately fond of music, her verse lacks form and melody, and is at times incoherent. Here she may be compared with Robert Browning. It will be remembered in this connection that Heine, a master of melody in words, hated music.

### 366 RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE.

Paul Bourget has given us in 'Un Divorce,' a very fine novel; although I will not go so far as some who maintain it to be the best thing he has ever done, it is certainly very good indeed. The question regarding divorce that he sets himself is whether the Roman Catholic Church is right in declaring marriage indissoluble. He answers it in the affirmative, and tries to prove his belief by the tale he tells. It is a drama of middle-class life. A woman divorced from her first husband, who was a drunkard, marries again. She has a son by the first marriage, a daughter by the second. The second marriage is of course not recognized by the Church. But she obtained from her second husband, who is a free-thinker, permission to bring up this daughter as a Catholic. When the girl is preparing for her first communion, her mother feels an ardent desire to communicate again herself, but it is forbidden her, since by her divorce she has put herself outside the Church. Her son Lucien falls in love with Berthe Planat, a medical student, who had a child by a young man in whom she trusted, but who turned out unworthy of her and cruelly deserted her. When his stepfather objects to his marriage with the girl, Lucien coolly says that his actual father, who is still alive, is the only person who has any right to forbid it, and that after all he is only acting towards Berthe as his stepfather had acted towards his mother; he desired to help her to reconstruct her life, and the civil marriage was only a concession so as to ensure the legal right to defend the woman. 'Je ne vous demande rien que de me permettre de faire ce que vous avez fait.' Berthe

is excellently drawn. She is an honourable girl who has been wickedly deceived. She believes that a man and woman in order to belong to each other, and to found a home together, need neither a priest to bless nor a magistrate to register their vow. A true marriage consists in the free union of two beings who associate their destinies from personal choice without other witnesses of the promise than their own consciences. A woman does not lose honour if she contracts such a bond and is deceived, any more than if she had been married in church to a wretch who afterwards deceived and deserted her. On the other hand, the view of marriage held by the Church is expressed by a priest thus: a drunken husband is a trial; when the Church blesses a woman's marriage, it does not promise her exemption from trials. If the trial becomes too hard, there is always separation. Bourget's tale is a veritable piece of life described with the perfect art of a great romancer who is also a sincere observer of human nature. His characters live and suffer as real persons would, but his point of view, though justified perhaps in this particular case, would not hold good in all. The end is a compromise that is scarcely likely to satisfy any one.

In 'Le Visage émerveillé,' the Comtesse Mathieu de Noailles has added to those romances dealing with nuns which seem to have so great a fascination for some people. A young man falls in love with a young nun, and visits her every night in her convent cell. We do not know what kind of a convent it can be, but the lover seems to enter boldly by the front door. In the old French

*fabliaux* such adventures, full of the true *esprit gaulois*, are frankly humorous, and fully succeed in their object, which is to amuse. They are guiltless of mysticism or psychology. But the modern nun keeps a diary and notes her feelings in it. She returns her lover's affection, is even proud of winning his love; but when he very naturally suggests that she should go away with him, and that they should start life together, she refuses, and in the end elects to remain a nun! Such a book could only have originated in France, and it possesses a certain glamour of poetical mysticism, and a curious, unhealthy, unreal way of looking at life that unfortunately appeals to some minds, and the novel has received a large amount of praise. Its literary workmanship is admirable, and it seems a pity that so much real artistic skill should not have been exercised in some other direction.

There are some authors who seem only able to write one book. Mme. Lecomte du Nouy's first venture, '*Amitié Amoureuse*,' was a delightful and penetrating study of the perils of platonic friendship, doubtless resting on a foundation of reality. Her latest production, '*La Joie d'Aimer . . .*' like the other volumes published by her, is scarcely worthy of her *début*. The subject is disagreeable. A man is depicted as being in love with his mother-in-law and his wife at the same time, and the former becomes his mistress not altogether unwillingly, though she makes some sort of a struggle, and apparently loves her daughter. It is fair to state that the guilty woman repents in the end. The motto of the novel is Joubert's '*Les passions ne sont*

que nature; c'est le non-repentir qui est corruption.' But Joubert hardly meant the condition of things described in the novel. The dialogue form is used, and is well managed. In her preface the author observes that the form should specially commend itself to lovers of the automobile and sixty miles an hour, for they will prefer the rapid development of the narrative to psychological subtleties.

Pierre de Coulevain's new novel, 'Sur la Branche,' is interesting, but is by no means up to the level of her 'Eve Victorieuse,' perhaps the best study of an American woman that exists. Here an elderly lady of fifty-seven goes over her past life, which, like most lives, had contained shadow and shine, and it becomes singularly mingled with people and events she meets after she had, as she thought, retired, so to speak, from active service. She endeavours, with some success, to formulate the philosophy of life that her own experiences and her observation of others have taught her. It is a philosophy of optimism, of reconciliation based on the Maeterlinckian proposition that evil is the good we do not understand. There is nothing very original in the subject of a husband's infidelity with his wife's best friend. The chief interest of the book lies, I venture to think, in the excellent appreciations of the men and women of different nationalities with whom the heroine comes in contact. She is delightfully quick to seize the good points in all of them.

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In German literature nothing of great interest has lately come my way, either in serious or lighter

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books. 'Hermann Osleb,' a novel by Gerhard Ouckama Knoop, a Russo-German chemist, though scarcely deserving the praise lately given it by an English critic, is an interesting and artistic piece of work. The scene is one of the old Hansa towns—probably Hamburg—about 1860. The chief characters are three young people, a man and two girls, who to reach freedom have to overcome tradition and environment, and to reconcile old ideas with new. The men are all in business, some are successful, others unsuccessful. Osleb has a little business of his own: he buys raw tobacco and sells it again to small dealers, and so needs capital or a somewhat extensive credit. A rich uncle, an ill-tempered despot, helps him. The character of Osleb is well drawn. He is an average person of no particular powers or decision, yet not wholly unattractive. He is fond of taking long, solitary rides in the country and allows himself the luxury of a horse, for whom he has a great affection. He cares nothing for books but is not averse from the conversation of educated and cultured people.

His cousin Rebecca is deeply religious. She is a Protestant, yet so far as she can, leads in her father's house (the mother is dead) the life of a nun. She is timid and reserved and hard on the failings of her fellow-creatures. Her friend Alida is a girl of very different temperament; she is cheery, courageous, enjoying to the full the pleasures and happinesses that come in her way, and tries, but with scant success, to bring Rebecca into a more natural frame of mind and way of life. Alida marries Osleb, but dies when her child is born. Rebecca develops

through contact with the realities and troubles of life: almost unacknowledged to herself, she had always loved her cousin, and after his young wife's death she takes charge of his motherless child. The two cousins marry, and we leave them reconciled with the world and their destiny.

The material of the story is simple enough: the main idea seems to be to show that the combined influences of a past and a modern time must have the best results for the present and future of the human race. And all the characters in the story at first influenced solely, either voluntarily or involuntarily, by the influences of past conditions, only work their way to contentment and usefulness when they yield also to contemporary influences.

A novel entitled, 'Götz Krafft. Die Geschichte einer Jugend,' by Edward Stilgebauer, has been attracting some attention in Germany. It is only the first part of the history; it passes in Frankfurt-on-the-Main and in Lausanne, and pictures the youth's last days at school, and his early student days at the University. He is a youth of good instincts, and we feel sorry for his disappointments and disillusiones, though there is an air of unreality about his surroundings, for all his young companions of both sexes are so extremely objectionable. And yet there are so many nice people in Frankfurt and in Lausanne. The author promises in future volumes to take his hero to Berlin, 'in the stream of the world,' to Munich where he performs his military service, and to Marburg, where, so the publisher's note tells us, he undergoes the great and determining experience of his life. If Stilgebauer

will aim less at sensationalism, and make his hero's struggles to pose as a pattern of virtue proof against every temptation less painful and unnatural, his story will be better worth reading.

Three volumes of short stories possess merit. 'Unter dem starken Leben,' by August Friedrich Krause, contains sixteen sketches of Silesian life. The people in them are full of courage and hope, despite their sufferings under the strenuous life, and seldom allow themselves to be conquered by ill-fortune. The best of the tales is perhaps 'Schnucki,' a story of a poor old woman and her cat, full of pathos and sincerity. 'Every one knew the woman's history, no one knew her suffering.' Georg von Gabelentz's collection 'Das weisse Tier,' savours of Edgar Allan Poe. He deals with the abnormal, the mysterious, the connection between this world and the unseen. For sheer horror I do not remember anything in any language to equal 'Der Affe'—two men and an ape adrift at sea in a small boat. It is told with great art and restraint. In 'Katastrophen' Kurt Martens tells six instances of soul-catastrophes, treated sometimes seriously, sometimes humorously and lightly. 'Das Chephas Kuminski' is a capital sketch of a marriage in haste repented at leisure.

It is of some interest to follow the taste of the German public in English literature, taking as guide the works that are translated. Ruskin, Browning, Pater, and Oscar Wilde have been appearing for some time in German dress, and now we have to add to them George Moore and George Meredith. 'Esther Waters' has just been published

under the title of 'Arbeite und Bete,' as the first of the series of Moore's 'Frauenromane,' and is to be quickly followed by 'Evelyn Innes' and 'Sister Teresa.' Dr. Max Meyerfeld contributes a laudatory appreciation of Moore, coupled with a brief sketch of the evolution of the servant-girl heroine in fiction, by way of introduction. Moore, he admits, is a realist, but a realist who deals with the realism of the idea; it is the 'winged realism' of a Balzac.

Two translations of Meredith's 'Ordeal of Richard Feverel' have been brought out almost simultaneously. The better of the two is by Julie Sotteck, and to it F. Sefton Delmer contributes an interesting introduction which concludes with the words, 'an author, so rich in thought, in humour, and in fancy, so grandly profound and sincere in the description of human destiny, must not have his influence confined within the boundaries of his native land.'

ELIZABETH LEE.

## SECRET PRINTING DURING THE CIVIL WAR.



WHEN, in 1644, the split took place between the Presbyterians and the Independents, among the leaders of the Independents were John Lilburne and Richard Overton, and they fought for liberty of conscience, as Prynne and Bastwick had fought for it only a few years before, by means of the secret press.

The whereabouts of those secret presses, and the literature that was printed at them, form an interesting though very thorny subject. Yet the task of the modern searcher is an easy one by comparison with that of the men of the Stationers' Company who were charged to track down pamphlets to their birthplace in garrets and cellars. All that they had to rely upon was the information of spies, and the letter or type used in the objectionable document, whereas the bibliographer has now the results of their labours to help him in fresh discoveries. But even with this assistance it is a matter of the utmost difficulty to pick out from the mass of sheets and pamphlets that poured from the press between 1640 and 1650, those that were secretly printed and say where and by whom. The following notes, culled from various out-of-the-way sources, concerning some of the secret presses of

that period, chiefly employed by Lilburne and Overton, are offered as an attempt, and an attempt only, to disentangle a number of pamphlets from the woof of mystery and uncertainty of which they form a part.

I. COLEMAN STREET PRESS. 1643 (?)—  
17th January, 1644.

On Monday, 9th December, 1644, there was found scattered over the streets of the city, a slip of paper, bearing some very uncomplimentary remarks against two of the commanders of the Parliamentary army, Lord Essex and the Duke of Manchester. The slips were even thrust behind the stall boards of shops, and one witness deposed to finding quite a number of them in this way.

This piece of paper measured about five inches by four, and contained eighteen lines of printed matter in Roman type, with a two-line initial A. It had no heading, and needless to say, no signature. In the course of the day it was brought under the notice of the House of Lords, who at once ordered 'That the Master and Wardens of the Company of Stationers shall attend this House at four of the clock this afternoon, to know of them whether they do know the print, and can discover the author of it' (Lords Journals, vol. vii, p. 91).

The Master and Wardens of the Company of Stationers obeyed the summons, but begged for longer time in which to make inquiries, and promised to do their best to discover the printer of the slip. The House granted them two or three

days' grace, which, however, lengthened into nearly three weeks before the Lords were able to attend to the matter again. At last, on the 26th December, they sent a message to the Lord Mayor and the Company of Stationers, desiring to know what steps they had taken in the matter; and not getting a satisfactory reply, sent the Gentleman Usher of the House into the city on the 28th on the same errand. The Company of Stationers thereupon returned the curious answer: "That they have used their best endeavours to find out the Printer, and author of the scandalous libel; but they cannot yet make any discovery thereof, the letter [*i.e.*, the type] being so common a letter; and further complained of the frequent printing of scandalous books by divers, as Hezechia Woodward and Jo: Milton.'

The probable explanation of this extraordinary reply is, that those of the Company who happened to be present at the Hall, when the Parliament's messenger arrived, were of the Presbyterian section, for the Company, like the rest of the community, was at war within itself, and that these could not resist a fling at the man who was advocating a free press and his own peculiar views as to marriage.

So matters went on until the 17th January, 1641, when it was reported to the House, 'That the Company of Stationers have found out a person, who had in his house divers scandalous books and pamphlets, and a letter for printing; the letter thereof is very like the letter of the libel against the peers' (Lords Journals, vol. vii).

The person upon whose premises this type had

been found, was Nicholas Tew, stationer, of Coleman Street, a favourite haunt of the Independents. A committee was appointed to examine him, but Tew refused to speak, so they committed him close prisoner to the Fleet, and referred his examination to two Justices of the Peace.

In the calendar of documents in the House of Lords, compiled by the Historical Manuscripts Commissioners (Sixth Report, App., p. 46 a), is noted, under date the 10th February, 164 $\frac{1}{2}$ , the petition of Nicholas Tew for release, or, at least, freedom under bail. The House took the petition into consideration, and called for the certificate of the two justices, who had been ordered to examine him, and this document is attached to the petition. It is summarized in the following words:

‘Examination of Nicholas Tew before the Justices. Confesses that a printing press was brought to his house in Coleman Street, and was used there by Robert Overton, who lodged there, and others, but who, he knows not; also confesses that a letter written by Mr. Lilburne to Mr. Prynne,<sup>1</sup> and a book of Mr. Lilburnes were printed there but from whom he received them or how much money he made by them he cannot tell. 17. Jan<sup>y</sup> 164 $\frac{1}{2}$ .’

Here, then, we have two important statements:

1. That of the experts of the Company that the type used to print the slip of paper concerning the

<sup>1</sup> A Copie of a Letter Written by John Lilburne, Leut. Collonell To Mr. William Prinne Esq.” B.M. 4103, c. 45. This letter was dated the 7th January, but was not published till the 15th.

generals, was very like that found at Nicholas Tew's house and in books printed there.

2. The confession of Nicholas Tew that he had a printing press on his premises, and that Lilburne's letter to W. Prynne had been printed at it, besides another book of Lilburne's, the title of which he did not give.

As copies of both the slip and the 'Letter' are among the Thomason Tracts there is no difficulty in comparing them, and comparison shows that they are certainly very closely alike. The face of the type is the same in both cases, *viz.* pica making three lines (set close) to nine millimetres. It is a Dutch letter, very much worn and battered, and did not print well. On the whole, while we must remember that the officers of the Stationers' Company, who saw the type itself, hesitated to say positively that the slip was printed with the same fount, owing to the number of closely similar founts in use, I yet think that we may safely identify the two types. This being so, we can carry the investigation a step further, since, in addition to the 'Letter,' Tew confessed that the press had been used to print a book of Lilburne's. Now so far as we know, Lilburne had not printed any of his own writings up to this time, and the statement is a book *of* not *for* Mr. Lilburne. In those days it was quite usual to describe anything running to more than eight pages as a 'book,' though we should probably now term it a pamphlet. Such a pamphlet had just been published, in fact Thomason dated his copy the 17th January, the very day of Nicholas Tew's arrest, though it had possibly been issued some days earlier.

The title of this pamphlet was:

‘An Answer to nine arguments: Written by T. B.  
 . . . Written long since by . . . John Lilburne . . .  
 London. Printed in the yeere of our Lord. 1645.’  
 [British Museum E. 25(7).]

It forms a quarto of twenty-four leaves, the first two without pagination. It possessed a title-page, noticeable for a bold, badly cut set of great primer caps. It also has above the imprint two rows of printer's ornaments, the royal emblems of the thistle and fleur-de-lys crowned, an ornament used again on the next leaf, and again on the first page of text. This ornament, however, was an exceedingly common one. I believe it was manufactured in great quantities by the typefounders of this country, that it was a stock pattern and was supplied to all printers indifferently. At any rate examples of it, the same in size and pattern, can be found in the hands of a dozen different printers of this period. Thus no theory can safely be based upon its presence in any particular pamphlet. When, however, we find it occurring throughout a whole set of pamphlets, showing other points of resemblance, its presence certainly helps to strengthen the argument for their common origin.

The ‘Answer’ was further distinguished by a portrait of John Lilburne, engraved by G. Glover. This plate had appeared three years before as a frontispiece to a work called ‘The Christian Mans Trial,’ a kind of history of Lilburne's sufferings, published by a bookseller named William Larnier, of whom more will be heard in connection with these secret presses.

There was then, in December 1644, a secret press in Coleman Street. How long had it been there and what other pamphlets were printed at it? Referring once more to Nicholas Tew's confession, it will be noticed that he says that a printing press was brought to his house, and was used there by Robert Overton and others. There were two men of the name of Overton with the initial R., who played a part in public affairs during the Civil War and Commonwealth period. Robert, a native of Yorkshire, who was a soldier and subsequently Governor of Hull, and Richard, who belonged to the Independent party and wrote several broadsides and pamphlets. About a year before the arrest of Nicholas Tew, there had appeared a remarkable pamphlet entitled, 'Mans Mortallitie. Or a Treatise Wherein 'tis proved, both Theologically and Phylosophically, that whole Man (as a rationall Creature) is a compound wholly mortal.' . . . By R. O. . . . Amsterdam. Printed by John Canne. Anno. Dom. 1643-4.' The theory which the author of this pamphlet put forward was so unorthodox that no publisher or printer in London, who valued his liberty, would have dared to put his name in the imprint, and accordingly a fictitious one was found for it. There is no evidence that the R. O. on the title-page stands for either Richard or Robert Overton; but the work is usually ascribed to Richard Overton. The imprint, however, certainly points in the other direction. John Canne, the supposed printer, was an Independent divine who had already written several books in support of his opinions, and had held the position of minister to the English Church in Amsterdam. How or when he came to

know Robert Overton is not clear, but upon becoming Governor of Hull in 1647, Robert Overton appointed John Canne as his chaplain, and this evidence of personal friendship is strengthened by the fact that Canne named one of his children Overton. With Richard Overton, Canne's name is not associated in any way, though in all probability they were known to each other by their writings. A glance at the book shows that it was printed in London, and not in Amsterdam, even if we had not Thomason's authority for the fact. When reinforced by Tew's statement, this justifies the inference that it was printed at the Coleman Street press in January, 1644, by Robert Overton, although the Roman type is a much newer letter, and the style of the running title and method of pagination differ from those in the other two books.

There are, it is true, two poetical satires by Richard Overton directed against the cross in Cheapside, and printed in 1642, but the type in which they were set up is entirely different to that used at the Coleman Street press, and the bulk of Richard Overton's work, as we shall see, is of a later date when, under the pseudonyms of Martin Mar-priest, Christopher Scale Sky, and the like, he attacked the Presbyterian party.

There is yet another book which came from this press in Coleman Street, a duodecimo entitled 'The Compassionate Samaritane,' published 5th January 1644. That these five books exhaust its output is very unlikely; but they are all that can be traced at present.

## II. THE MARTIN MAR-PRIEST PRESS.

On the 8th April, 1645, appeared the first of Richard Overton's pamphlets against the Presbyterian Assembly of Divines, which became known as the Martin Mar-Priest tracts. It was called 'The Arraignment of Mr. Persecution,' and its curious imprint will be found in the bibliography. The second of the series was called 'A Sacred Synodicall Decretall,' the title-page of this bearing a woodcut. The imprint, it will be seen, varied somewhat from that of the 'Arraignment.' In quick succession followed 'Martin's Eccho,' and 'The Nativity of Sir John Presbyter . . . Calculated by Christopher Scale-Sky.' A gap of nearly six months then occurs, during which time the press was hastily removed; but in December it was back again in its old quarters and issued another pamphlet: 'The Ordinance for Tythes Dismounted.' This was succeeded in January 164 $\frac{5}{8}$  by 'Divine Observations upon the London-Ministers Letter against Toleration,' the last tract, as far as we know, in which Martin Mar-Priest made his appearance.

These pamphlets all bear such a strong typographical likeness, that there can be no doubt as to their having been printed at the one press. With the single exception of Martin's 'Echo,' they all have title-pages, in which the same founts of type are used. The text of all is printed in pica Roman and Italic. But it is in the compositors' work that the resemblance is most noticeable, these books showing a uniformity which leads to the conclusion that they

were set up by the same hands. With only one exception, the first capital was surrounded by a border of small fleur-de-lys. Four out of the six have the running title in italics, and in each of the four cases this running title commences on the second page.

The authorship of these tracts, and the press at which they were printed, proved two of the greatest mysteries of the time. The Company of the Stationers and the heads of the Presbyterian party were completely baffled. William Prynne, who worked himself into a white rage of passion over them, within three months ascribed the authorship to two different men. In his "Fresh Discovery of some prodigious new wandring blasing-stars, and fire-brands,"<sup>1</sup> published on July 24th, he declares they were written by one Henry Robinson, a noted Independent, who, so he averred, kept a private printing-press in an alley off Bishopsgate Street, and sent for printers from Amsterdam.

Three months later in a fierce attack upon John Lilburne, bluntly called the 'Lyar confounded,'<sup>2</sup> he declared that these Mar-Priest tracts were printed with the same letter or type and at the same press as Lilburne's 'Letter' to him and the answer which Lilburne had handed in to the Committee of examinations.<sup>3</sup> In fact, he went so far as to declare that in Martyn's 'Echo' were to be found many of

<sup>1</sup> 'Fresh Discovery, etc.,' p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> 'Lyar Confounded,' p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> In this he was evidently wrong, as we now know the press in Coleman Street had printed the 'Letter' and been seized on January 17th of this year, so that it was impossible for Lilburne's 'Reasons,' which was not printed till June 13th, to have been printed with it, or any of the Mar-Priest tracts.

Lilburn's expressions and phrases. On the strength of this Lilburne was arrested on the 19th July, and thrown into prison, and not released till October 14th. But Prynne was as wide of the mark in this second guess, as he had been in the first; for some months later it became a matter of common knowledge that Martin Mar-priest was none other than Richard Overton.

In attempting to locate the press, Prynne was, we believe, very near the truth, thanks, no doubt, to the information he obtained from the Stationers' Company, whose officials kept a sort of Black Book in which they entered the names of all printers, booksellers and publishers, who printed or sold any literature that could by any possibility be called 'scandalous and seditious,' so that when anything more glaring than usual was put on the market, they first of all 'visited the suspects.' One of these was William Larnier, the bookseller, already mentioned as the owner of the plate which had appeared as a frontispiece to Lilburne's 'Nine Arguments,' printed at Nicholas Tew's press. He was a pronounced Roundhead, and in the early days of the struggle between Charles and his people, had published several pamphlets in the popular cause. At that time he was living at the 'Golden Anchor' near Paul's Chain, that is, on the South side of St. Paul's Churchyard. At the beginning of the Civil War he served in the Parliamentary army, but was invalided, and then resumed his old trade of bookseller, at a shop in Bishopsgate Street, in which street John Lilburne was then living. At the time of the rupture in the Puritan ranks, Larnier joined

with the Independents, so that it is more than probable that the premises in Bishopsgate Street, in which Prynne declared these Mar-Prelate tracts to have been printed, belonged to William Larner. His statement that Henry Robinson owned the press was probably founded on rumour, while the assertion that the printers came from Amsterdam, sounds like an echo of the John Canne incident already referred to.

In connection with the identity of this press, it is worth noting that after the publication of the 'Nativity of Sir John Presbyter' on 2nd July, 1645, nothing came from it for nearly six months. It looks as though Prynne's statement, published on 24th July, had caused the press to be secretly removed. Where it was and what was printed at it in the interval, have now to be considered.

### III. THE GOODMAN'S FIELDS PRESS.

It was one of the features of the Civil War period, that if a man had a grievance either against his fellows or the State, he straightway put it into print. And so it comes about that amongst the tons of rubbish turned out by the presses of that period, may be found interesting biographical notes, that repay the weariness of many hours' searching.

One of these aggrieved people was Joseph Hunscoth, stationer, and the story of his troubles is entitled: 'The humble petition and information of Joseph Hunscoth, stationer, to both the honourable Houses of Parliament now assembled, against divers scandalous Libels, and treasonous Pamphlets against

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c c

Kingly Government and Parliament proceedings, as may appear by the very books herewith presented.' (E. 340(15). Thomason's date, 11th June, 1646.)

Joseph Hunscoth was an Oxfordshire man, who set up as a bookseller in 1624 (Arber, vol. iv, p. 110). According to his own account he was for some time printer to the Long Parliament, and on the outbreak of the Civil War took a part in the fighting. During his absence his office as printer to the House of Commons was given to Edward Husbands, which galled him very much. But he stood well with the Company, especially as he had a very keen nose for smelling out secret presses, in which he had distinguished himself in the days of Prynne and Bastwick, and the Company at once set him on the old work. Needless to add, he was cordially hated by such men as Lilburne and Overton. The unkind things they had been saying about him wrung from Hunscoth this petition, in which he called the attention of the Parliament to the fact that he had been supplanted by Husbands, that he had received no pay for his services with the army, and that since his return he had been shamefully abused for doing his duty as an officer of the Stationers' Company in seeking out secret presses and apprehending the owners of them. As an instance of his zeal he recites the following incident:

'The Petitioner further shewes, That being employed upon a Warrant from the Speaker of the House of Commons, for the seizing of a press in Goodmans Fields, which printed the book called "Englands Birthright": That your Petitioner, with

the Master and Wardens of the Company, endeavouring to put in execution the said Warrant, they were kept out by force, untill at last the doores of the house being by authority forced open, those that were at worke, got out at a window with a rope into a garden, and so escaped: But the said Presse was seized upon, which printed that and divers others books, as was at large proved before both Houses of Parliament at Larner's examination by divers honest men.'

Here again we have a definite statement by one of the actors in the scene, and once again we have William Larner's name associated with the press. Hunscoth, no doubt, had very good reasons for coupling Larner's name with the printing of 'England's Birthright'; in fact, Larner may have been on the premises in Goodman's Fields, when the raid was made.

Goodman's Fields was at that time a lonely district in the East End of London without Aldgate. It obtained its name from a farm which in Stow's time was in the occupation of a man named Goodman, and the antiquary tells a pleasing little pastoral story, about how he used to fetch milk from the farm and never got less than three ale pints for a halfpenny. The land was afterwards let out for grazing horses and in garden plots, passing finally into the hands of the builder. It is quite possible that this secret press was set up in the old farmhouse, or some other building near at hand, which was thought to be safe from the prying eyes of Hunscoth and his subordinates.

'England's Birthright' was a quarto pamphlet of

six sheets and a half. It bore no title-page, and at the head of the first page was a band of ornaments consisting of short rules and small fleurs-de-lys placed alternately. The text was printed in Roman and Italic; there were no running titles, and the pagination was inclosed within brackets. The initial letter to the Preamble on the verso of the first leaf and the initial letter to the first answer on page 1 are surrounded by fleur-de-lys ornament, as in the books of the Mar-Priest press. Thomason has written on his copy, 'Supposed to be Lilborne's or some friends of his,' and has added the date 'October 10<sup>th</sup> 1645.' By great good fortune an earlier example of the work of the Goodman's Fields Press has been discovered. Amongst the Thomason tracts (E. 296. [5]) is one entitled, 'The Copy of a Letter from Lieutenant Colonell John Lilburne to a freind,' which was dated by Thomason 'Aug<sup>t</sup> 9<sup>th</sup> 1645.' This is a quarto of ten sheets and a half. It has no title-page, and above the heading on page 1 is the same curious band of rules and fleurs-de-lys seen in 'England's Birthright.' The first initial is surrounded by fleurs-de-lys; there are no running titles, and the pagination is inclosed within brackets. A comparison of the type and press-work of these two pamphlets will confirm the judgement that they came from the same press.

There is no doubt that these two pamphlets are only a portion of the output of the Goodman's Fields press, but it will be noticed that the dates just fill the gap that occurred between the printing of 'The Nativity of Sir John Presbyter' and 'The Ordinance for Tythes dismounted,' and the ex-

planation seems to be that the printer being alarmed at the information that William Prynne had obtained as to the whereabouts of the press in Bishopsgate Street, it was hastily removed into Goodman's Fields.

It will also be noticed that Hunscoth refers to Larner's examination, that is, his examination before the committee; but Larner's account of the matter<sup>1</sup> says nothing whatever about the Goodman's Fields press or 'England's Birthright.' The close resemblance which these pamphlets bear to those now coming under consideration will tell its own story.

#### IV. WILLIAM LARNER'S PRESS (PROBABLY BISHOPSGATE STREET). MARCH, 1646—JULY 31st, 1646.

On the 22nd March, 164<sup>6</sup>, Joseph Hunscoth and his officers, under warrant from the House of Commons and the Company of Stationers, entered and searched William Larner's premises in Bishopsgate Street and arrested the unfortunate bookseller, for having in his possession copies of a recently published pamphlet called, 'The Last Warning to all the Inhabitants of London.'

According to Larner and his friends, this duty was performed by Hunscoth with great brutality, but a large allowance must be made for the excited feelings and partisan passions of both sides. Larner had been under suspicion for a good many years.

<sup>1</sup> 'A true relation of all the Remarkable Passages, and illegall Proceedings of some Sathanicall or Doeg-like Accusers of their Brethren against William Larner.'—E. 335 (7).

He was known to hold strong Independent views, and the Stationers' Company had evidently ample proof that he was actively interested in the various secret presses that had issued the writings of Henry Robinson, John Lilburne, and Richard Overton, and perhaps some others. Larnier admitted<sup>1</sup> that his premises had been searched on seven previous occasions, and much of his goods taken away and broken in pieces. In connection with this last seizure, there is some interesting evidence among the manuscripts in the House of Lords,<sup>2</sup> illustrating the greed and jealousy of the Stationers' Company, and the methods pursued by them, besides being an authoritative record of some of the productions of this press of Larnier's. This is a petition by the Company to the House of Lords, dated August 13th, 1646, in which it is stated that a certain Robert Eeles, who with his wife was 'a common printer and seller of unlicensed books,' had in his custody a printing-press lately used in printing scandalous books, and prayed that it might be delivered to the Company to be defaced.

Annexed to this petition are four other documents: the petition of Robert Eeles to the Speaker of the House of Lords, and three manuscripts.

Robert Eeles' petition is undated, but was, it must be presumed, an answer to that of the Stationers. In it Eeles stated that he was employed by a committee of the Lords to suppress seditious books, and that in the discharge of that duty he had, not without danger and expense, taken a press

<sup>1</sup> 'A true Relation.' E. 335 (7), p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> 'Hist. MSS. Comm.,' vol. vi, 130 b.

and letters that had been used in printing a pamphlet entitled 'Londons Last Warning,' another called 'A Remonstrance to the House of Commons,' and a third with the title, 'An Alarum to the House of Lords,' and all or most of Lilburne's books. Eeles further declared that he arrested Richard Overton, whom the Parliament had committed to Newgate only a few days earlier (*i.e.* 11th August, 1646).

Eeles then goes on to state that he has been set upon in the open street by the Independents, dragged before a justice and committed to prison, while the Stationers' Company, envying what he has done, and what they ought to have done had they been honest men, threaten that they will shortly order him well.

The effects of this petition and counter-petition were somewhat remarkable. The House of Lords on reading the Stationers' petition on the 13th August, ordered that the press and letters should be taken to Stationers' Hall to be defaced, but evidently on Robert Eeles presenting his answer, they looked at matters in a different light, and on the following day (14th August) made another order, that the press and letter which Eeles had yielded up, should remain in the custody of the Gentleman Usher of the House until further orders. Unfortunately, there, as far as Eeles is concerned, the story ends. But it is clear that for once, the Stationers' Company received a check, and there is evidence that they pursued this struggling little printer and his wife with a malevolence that knew no limit.

But for us the interest lies in Eeles' answer. If his statement was correct, and there is no reason to doubt it, he must have acted independently of Joseph Hunscoth, and from private information. It also goes to show that Hunscoth did not seize any press or letter on Larner's premises on the 22nd March, and that the same press was at work as late as July 31st, the date of the publication of the pamphlet called, 'An Alarum to the House of Lords,' when Eeles ran it to earth.

Nevertheless, Larner was charged with being the author, *printer*, and publisher of 'London's Last Warning,' and Nicholls, the letter-founder, was called to prove that Larner was the person who had bought the letter with which the pamphlet was printed. Larner, in his 'True Relation' (pp. 14, 15), endeavoured to put a different construction upon Nicholls' evidence, but it amounted to this, that if he did not buy the type himself, he supplied the money with which it was bought. But there is another equally strong piece of evidence that connects Larner's name with this press. The pamphlet called a 'Remonstrance to the House of Commons,' has as a frontispiece the identical copperplate portrait of John Lilburne which had been used in 'The Christian Man's Trail' in 1641, and in the 'Answer to Nine Arguments,' printed at the Coleman Street press in January, 1645. In the interval it had been touched up and altered by the addition of bars across the face, and two lines of verse to those already on it.

In addition to the three books recorded by Eeles, as having been printed at this press, the two

pamphlets published by Larner on his own behalf, the first entitled, 'A True Relation,' etc., and the second, 'Every Man's Case,' were unquestionably printed there, as well as three other pamphlets, 'The Afflicted Christian,' published on May 18th, the 'Interest of England,' published on June 8th, and a religious treatise entitled, 'Divine Light,' published on July 7th.

A careful comparison of six of these pamphlets, namely, the 'Warning to London,' 'True Relation,' 'Every Man's Case,' 'Afflicted Christian,' 'Interest of England,' and 'Alarum to the House of Lords,' shows them to possess the following characteristics in common. (1) All are quartos; (2) a band of royal emblems either between or above a row of fleurs-de-lys at the top of the first page of text; (3) initial letters surrounded by fleurs-de-lys; (4) text printed in roman and italic, thirty-eight lines to a full page; (5) pagination within brackets. The same features are also found in the 'Divine Observations,' the last of the Mar-Priest tracts, printed in January, 1648, and in both the books printed at the Goodman's Fields press.

To sum up the whole story. In 1643, several of the Independents, including Henry Robinson, Robert and Richard Overton, and John Lilburne, aided by William Larner, the bookseller, procured a printing-press which they lodged in Nicholas Tew's house in Coleman Street. The type they obtained either direct from abroad, or more probably, through Nicholls, the letter-founder, who, judging from his statement made in 1637,<sup>1</sup> was in no posi-

<sup>1</sup> See my 'Short History of English Printing,' p. 181.

tion to look too closely into the purposes for which the type was required. This press being seized, another was obtained, and lodged in premises in Bishopsgate Street, rented by or belonging to William Larnier. Finding the hue and cry getting unpleasantly near in July, 1645, a new place of hiding was found in Goodman's Fields, where the work was carried on until some time between October 10th and December 29th in the same year, when Joseph Hunscoth discovered it.

Nothing daunted, a fresh press and type were obtained, and work resumed in the old premises at Bishopsgate Street, and continued uninterruptedly until July 31st, 1646, shortly after which Eeles seized the press, and obtained the arrest of Richard Overton. With Lilburne, Overton, and Larnier all in prison, it is probable that no further attempt was made at printing.

The statement by Eeles that 'all or most of Lilburne's books' were printed at this press, is one that requires more examination than can be given to it here. The books here noticed have features in common, while a great many of Lilburne's books were printed in a wholly different letter, and with different ornaments. They may have belonged to the same office, but in order to prove it a long and very difficult examination of the books would be necessary, and this paper has already run to inordinate lengths.

# BIBLIOGRAPHY.

THE COLEMAN STREET PRESS.

1. [Slip measuring 4 in. by 5, without heading, commencing 'Alas pore Parliament, how art thou betrai'd?' verso blank.] Eighteen lines in lower case roman, with a two-line initial A. Thomason has added this note:

'Decemb: 9<sup>th</sup> beinge Monday 1644 written by some Independant against Ld Gen Essex and Ld of Manchester, and scatred about y<sup>e</sup> streets in the night.'

Identified by the officers of the Co. of Stationers, as printed in a letter similar to that used at a press found in Nicholas Tew's house.

2. [A Copie of a Letter, Written by John Lilburne Leut. Collonell. To Mr. William Prinne Esq. (Upon the coming out of his last booke, intituled Truth triumphing over Falsehood, Antiquity over Novelty) In which he laies down five Propositions, which he desires to discusse with the said Mr. Prinne.]

Quarto. Sig. A. Eight leaves without title-page. Heading as above, below two rows of printer's ornaments, on sig. A. Types Roman and Italic, verso of A4 blank.

Nicholas Tew confessed that this pamphlet was printed at his house in Coleman Street. Printed about the 15th January, 1644. B. M., 4103, c. 45.

3. An Answer to nine arguments Written by T. B. . . . Written long since by . . . John Lilburne. . . . London. Printed in the Yeare of our Lord, 1645.

Sigs.: Frontispiece 1 leaf unsigned, + ¶ two leaves B—F in-fours. G two leaves.

Dated by Thomason, 'Jany. 17 1644' [O.S.] B.M. E 25 (7).

## DOUBTFUL BOOKS.

4. *Mans Mortalitie*. . . By R. O. Amsterdam. Printed by John Canne. Anno Domini 1643. 4to. B. M., 698 f. 3 (2).

5. *The Compassionate Samaritane*. . . The second edition corrected, and enlarged. Printed in the Yeare 1644. [Thomason's date Jan: 5<sup>th</sup> 164<sup>4</sup>.] Duodecimo. 1202 (1).

LARNER'S PRESS AT BISHOPSGATE STREET. THE MAR-  
PRIEST PRESS.

1. *The Araignment of Mr. Persecution: Presented to the consideration of the House of Commons, and to all the common people of England Wherein he is indicted, arraigned, convicted, and condemned of enmity against God, and all goodnesse, of treasons, rebellions bloodshed, &c, and sent to the place of execution. In the prosecution whereof, the jesuitical designes, and secret encroachments of his Defendants, Sir Symon Synod, and the John of all Sir Johns, Sir John Presbiter, upon the liberty of the subject is detected, and laid open, By Yongue Martin Mar-Preist, Son to old Martin the Metrapolitane. This is Licenced, and printed according to Holy Order, but not Entered into the Stationers Monopole. Anglia Martinis disce favere tuis. Europe. Printed by Martin Claw Clergie, Printer to the Reverend Assembly of Divines, and are to be sould at his Shop in Toleration Street, at the Signe of the Subjects Liberty, right opposite to Persecuting Court. 1645.*

Quarto. Sigs. A—G in fours, wanting first and last leaves. Pagination begins on sig. B, and running title within rules on the verso of sig. B. [Thomasons date, Aprill 8<sup>th</sup>.] E. 276 (23).

2. *A Sacred Decretall, Or Hue and Cry. From his superlative Holinesse, Sir Symon Synod, for the Apprehen-*

sion of Reverend Young Martin Mar-Priest. Wherein are displayed many witty Synodian Conceits, both pleasant and Commodious. [Woodcut.] *Europe, Printed by Martin Claw-Clergy, Printer to the Reverend Assembly of Divines, for Bartholomew Bang-Priest, and are to be sold at his Shop in Toleration-street, at the sign of the Subjects Liberty, right opposite to Persecuting Court.*

Quarto. Two leaves without signature, + B—D in fours. Pagination begins on sig. B, and running title within rules on verso of sig. B. [Thomason has omitted to date this, but it is known to have appeared on June 10th, 1645.] E. 286 (15).

3. [Martin's Echo: Or A Remonstrance, from His Holinesse reverend Young Martin Mar-Priest, responsorie to the late Sacred Synoddicall Decretall, in all humility presented to the reverend, pious, and grave consideration of the Right Reverend Father in God, the Universall Bishop of our soules, his superlative Holinesse Sir Symon Synod.]

Quarto. Without title-page. Ten leaves. A—B in fours; C 2 leaves. Pagination begins on sig. A, and the running title within rules on verso of sig. A. [Thomason's date June 27th, 1645.] E. 290 (2).

4. The Nativity of Sir John Presbyter. Compared with the Rhodulphine and Lansberges Table. Verified by his conception, From the Cyclops, Brontes, Steropes and Pyrackmon, as they were making Thunder and Lightning in Mount Aetna. Compared with the judgements of Ptolomey, Haly, Hermes, Albumayar, Sconor, Tasnier, Regiomontanus, Guido, Bonatus, Keplar, Galileus, with other learned Mathematicians as well Antient as Moderne. Calculated by Christopher Scale-Sky, Mathematician in chief to the Assembly of Divines. *Licensed by Rowland Rattle-Priest, a terrible Imprimatur and Entered according to Order. Printed on the back-side of the Cyclopiian Mountaines, 1645.*

Quarto, six leaves. Sig. A four leaves, B two leaves.

Pagination begins on p. 5, and running titles on verso p. 6. E. 290 (17).

5. The Ordinance for Tythes Dismounted, From all Mosaicall, Evangelicall, and true Magesterial Right. By that valiant and most victorious Champion, the great Anti-Clergy of our times, his Superlative Holyness, Reverend Young Martin Mar-Priest, sonne to Old Martin the Metropolitane. Commended and presented to the Petitioners of Hertfordshire, for their further encouragement, and for Provocation of other Counties to become Petitionary with them against the unhallowed illegall Exaction of Tythes. [Quotn<sup>s</sup>.] *Europe. Printed by Martin Claw Clergy, Printer to the Reverend Assembly of Divines, for Bartholomew Bang-Priest, and are to be sold at his shop in Toleration-street, at the signe of the Subiect's Liberty, right opposite to Persecuting Court. 1646.*

Quarto. Sigs. A two leaves. B—F in fours = twenty-two leaves. Pagination begins on sig. Bi, and running title between rules on verso of Bi. [E. 313 (27).]

6. Divine Observations Upon the London-Ministers Letter against Toleration: By his Synoddicall, Priest-byter-all, Nationall, Provinciall, Classicall, Congregationall, Superlative, Un-erring, Clericall Accademicall Holynesse, Reverend Yongue Martin Mar-Priest, Sonne and Heire to Old Martin the Metropolitane. Wherein the Toleration of His Sacred Person with the whole Independent Fraternity (by what Name or Title soever dignify'd or distinguished whether Anabaptists, Brownists or the like) is justified by the Reasons of the London Ministers, which they urge against Toleration; and themselves, by their own Reasoning, condemned. [Quot<sup>ns</sup>.] The Reverend Authour desires such as have received offence at the 6, 7, and 8 Pages in his Ordinance for Tythes Dismounted, to repaire for satisfaction to the last Clause hereof. *Europe, Printed by Martin Claw-Clergy, Printer to the Reverend Assembly of Divines, and are to be sold by Bartholomew Bang-Priest, at his shop in Toleration-street, at the signe of*

*the Subjects Liberty, right opposite to Persecution-Court.*  
1646.

Sigs. A—B in fours, pp. 16. Pagination within brackets; no running titles. [E. 317 (15).]

7. [The Reasons of Lieu. Col: Lilbourne's sending his Letter to Mr Prin, humbly presented to the Honorable Committee of Examinations.]<sup>1</sup>

Quarto. Without title-page. Pagination within brackets. [Thomason's date June 13th.]. [E. 288 (12).]

<sup>1</sup> William Pryne declared that this was printed with the same type and press as the Letter, but as this did not appear till June, 1645, and Nicholas Tew's press had been seized in January, it must have been printed at another secret press, and it is accordingly placed here, though the ornaments on page 1 and the press-work throw some doubt on it.

### III. LARNER'S PRESS AT GOODMAN'S FIELDS.

1. [The Copy of a Letter from Lieutenant Colonell John Lilburne, to a friend.]

Quarto. Without title-page. Sigs. A—B in fours, C two leaves. Pagination within brackets. [Thomason's date, Aug: 9<sup>th</sup> 1645.] E. 296 (5).

2. Englands Birth-Right Justified Against all Arbitrary Usurpation, whether Regall or Parliamentary, or under what Vigor soever. . . . By a well-wisher to the just cause for which Lieutenant Col. John Lilburne is unjustly imprisoned in New-gate.]

Quarto. Without title-page. Sigs. A—F in fours, and two leaves without signatures. Pagination within brackets. [Thomason's date, London 8<sup>ber</sup> 10<sup>th</sup> 1645.] E. 304 (17).

### IV. LARNER'S LAST PRESS.

1. [The Last Warning to all the Inhabitants Of London.]

Quarto. Without title-page or running titles. Sig. A, four leaves. Pagination within brackets. [Thomason's date, 20 March, 1645, *i.e.* 1646.]

2. A true Relation of all the remarkable Passages, and Illegall Proceedings of some Sathannicall or Doeg-like Accusers of their Brethren, against William Larner, A Free-Man of England, and one of the Merchant-Tailers Company of London, for selling Eight Printed Sheets of Paper (all of one matter), Intituled Londons last Warning; as also against John Larner, and Jane Hales his Servants.

Hee first (according to his Liberty) refusing to be Examined upon Interrogatories, whereby to accuse himself or others; And then they (according to their refusing to take an Oath, whereby to entrap themselves, or betray their Master). Hee being carried first before the Lord Major of London, who committed him to the Counter-Prison, Next before the Committee of Examinations, who Committed him Close-Prisoner to Maiden-Lane (where now he hath the Liberty of the Prison,) and at last, Turned over to the House of Lords: From whom he appealed to the House of Commons, to be tryed by his Equals (or Fellow-Commoners,) according to Law and Justice, who turned him backe again to the Lords; and by them were his servants committed to the Common Jayle of the Fleet, where they yet lie, being denyed of the Prison Liberty, which malefactors doe enjoy.

All which Passages, comming to the hands of some of his, and the Commonwealths friends, are Published by them to the view of the World, chiefly for the serious Observation of all the Free-Men of England, who cannot long enjoy their Freedoms, Lives nor Estates, if the Rule of Law be not truly followed, nor Justice duly Administred. [Quot<sup>ns</sup>.]

Quarto. Sigs. A—B in fours, eight leaves. Without running titles. Verso of title-page blank. Pagination within brackets. [Thomason's date, May 2<sup>d</sup>, London, 1646.]

3. [Every Mans Case, Or A brotherly Support to Mr. Will. Larner, Prisoner in the New-Prison in Mayden-lane, London. Also another Letter from a Prisoner, to Mr. Larner.]

Quarto. Without title-page or running titles. Sig. A, four leaves. Pagination within brackets. [Thomason's date, May 9<sup>th</sup>, 1646.] [E. 337 (5).]

4. The Afflicted Christian Justified. In a letter to M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Hawes, An honest and Godly Man, and known freind to his country, now Prisoner for supposed Blasphemy in Winchester-House, in Southwarke. With a Letter from Mr. Thomas Hawes to Mr. Farthing; Wherein hee Remonstrates to the whole Kingdome the Arbitrary Insolencies, and High-Commission Proceedings of the said Farthing, together with his Confederates, against the Native Freedoms and Birth-rights of the whole Free-borne People of England. [Quot<sup>ns</sup>.] London, Printed 18. May, 1646.

Quarto. Sigs. A, B in fours. C two leaves. Without running titles. Pagination within brackets. [E. 337 (26).]

5. The Interest of England maintained: The Honour of the Parliament vindicated: The Malignants Plott upon the Presbyters, to make them doe their worke Discovered. The Designe to destroy Common Freedome, and all just Government, is under the specious pretence of rooting out Sectaries, and Hereticks, evidenced: In Certaine Observations upon a Dangerous Remonstrance lately presented by the Lord Major, and Common Counsell of London, to the Honourable, the Commons of England, in Parliament Assembled. [Quot<sup>ns</sup>.] Printed June the 8. 1646.

Quarto. A, B in fours. C, two leaves, *i.e.*, ten leaves. Without running titles. Verso of title-page and verso of last leaf blank. Pagination within brackets. [E. 340 (5).]

6. A Remonstrance of Many Thousand Citizens, and other Free-born People of England, To their owne House of Commons. Occasioned through the Illegall and Barbarous Imprisonment of that Famous and Worthy Sufferer

for his Countries Freedom, Lieutenant Col. John Lilburne. Wherein their just Demands in behalfe of themselves and the whole Kingdome, concerning their Publike Safety, Peace and Freedome, is Express'd; calling those their Commissioners in Parliament to an account, how they (since the beginning of their Session, to this present) have discharged their Duties to the Universallity of the People, their Sovereigne Lord, from whom their Power and Strength is derived, and by whom (*ad bene placitum*,) it is continued. [Ornament.] Printed in the Yeer. 1646.

Quarto. Sigs.: A, B in fours, C two leaves. Without running titles. Pagination within brackets. Title-pages preceded by one leaf containing portrait. [Thomason has added to the imprint, "London, July 7<sup>th</sup>."] ]

7. Divine Light, Manifesting the love of God unto the Whole world: With the True Church. Wherein the holy Spirit of Truth manifesteth the Glory of God in Christ, Exalting Christ, a spirituall Christ, and All-easing Jesus; shewing that Christ is a sure Foundation, and Chief Corner-Stone, for all Spirituall building, unto the raising up lively hopes for all People to proceed in Beleeving the great Mercies, and loving kindnesses of our God in Christ, in whom God hath Redeemed us his Saints, and All; having wrought all things for us, and all in Christ, wherein wee are made perfect. Sent forth by the Minister of the Lord Jesus, whom He hath Appointed his Servant for the Good of All: [Quotn<sup>a</sup>.] Printed in the Yeer. 1646.

Quarto. Sigs. A—D in fours, E, two leaves. Running titles and pagination. [Thomason's date, July 7<sup>th</sup>.] [E. 343 (14).]

8. An Alarum to the House of Lords: Against their insolent Usurpation of the Common Liberties, and Rights of this Nation. Manifested by them, in their present Tyrannicall Attempts against that Worthy Commoner, Lieutenant Col. John Lilburne, Defendour of the Faith, And of his Countries Freedoms, both by his Words, Deeds and Sufferings, against all Tyrants in the Kingdome;

DURING THE CIVIL WAR. 403

Whether Black-coats, Papists, Kings, Lords, &c. [Ornament.] Printed in the Yeer. 1646.

Quarto. Sigs. A, four leaves; B, two leaves. Without running titles. Pagination within brackets. [E. 346 (8).]

NOT FOUND.

9. Overton's pamphlet on baptism. (Hist. MSS. Commission.)

10. Propheticall Warning. (Hist. MSS. Commission.)

H. R. PLOMER.

## THE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE AT NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.



**A**FTER a prolonged course of the South and Midlands, varied by an occasional dash into Lancashire and an excursion to Leeds, the Library Association has at length penetrated far into the North of England, its twenty-seventh annual conference being held at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, commencing on August 30th and closing on September 1st.

To Dr. Hodgkin, whose ample qualifications it would be an impertinence to mention here, fell the difficult task of following Professor W. Macneile Dixon, and the Association will, no doubt, congratulate itself upon the fact that its distinguished roll of presidents is being so worthily maintained. The meetings were held in the handsome hall of the Durham College of Medicine, where the mayor extended a hearty welcome on behalf of the Corporation; Sir George Hare Philipson, in his own graceful way, offering a similar tribute from the University of Durham.

Preliminary matters being rapidly disposed of, the conference soon settled down to the crowded programme which had been arranged for the three days' sessions. At the outset the president struck

a good note, his main theme being the dignity of literature and the solace of books. First a few local references, then, with just pride, noting that if Mark Akenside was the chief classic of Newcastle proper, the immediate vicinity could point to the Venerable Bede, who lived and worked at Jarrow, and lies buried at Durham, he passed into more remote antiquity and peeped into a bookless world. How sad the lot of neolithic man, to whom the advantages of letters were unknown, and from whom even the culture of the past was hid! In his long winter evenings what *did* he do? Transferring his vision, the president drew attention to the splendid collection of inscribed bricks, preserved on shelves and classified in order, by the good Assur-bani-pal for the benefit of his people. Then the library of a Roman gentleman of the fifth century of the Christian era was described, the point being that amid the crashing and reeling of empires libraries were cherished and books collected and preserved. Against this background was depicted the present state of over production. A book-choked world was little less dismal to think upon than a bookless one, but this might be the librarian's opportunity:

In the new peril of the human intellect, works which should have taken their place among the world's classics might be lost to sight by the ever-growing accumulations of literary rubbish, and it seemed possible that they might have to look to the librarians as the literary high priests and pontiffs of their race. He did not suggest the composing of an 'Index Expurgatorius' of bad or futile books. Such an index would only provoke curiosity and quicken demand; but he did think that the librarian

of the future might have to take upon himself, even more than he did at present, the office of 'guide, philosopher, and friend,' and guide his flock of readers from the lower to the higher slopes on the hill of the muses. The ideal librarian might be a guide to really good fiction, if fiction were needed, and might lead his readers on from novels to history, from 'Westward Ho!' to Froude, from Froude to Brewer, from Brewer to Stubbs, and from Stubbs to the Rolls series of materials for English history. He spoke of history because that subject attracted him most. Others might be guided to the best and most trustworthy authorities of science, and so on. They would remember that in the early days of the Eleusinian mysteries candidates for initiation were met by the hierophant whose duty it was to reject the palpably unworthy and instruct the worthy ones in the ceremonial needed for their initiation. Even so, as literature increased in volume and science in complexity, and as the path into the sacred grove became ever more obstructed by the jungle-growth of worthless books, a new and more important office than that of arranging and cataloguing books would open before the librarian, and he would be able, with increasing success, to claim his lawful and honourable place as the hierophant of literature.

Mr. Basil Anderton's paper upon 'The New-castle-upon-Tyne Public Libraries' having been taken as read, Alderman H. W. Newton, J.P., very fittingly followed the president, his topic being 'The Elevating Influence of Public Libraries.' In a comprehensive survey of his subject he treated of early views regarding public libraries, and characterized these institutions as evangelizers to the working classes. The growth of library administration and of public opinion respecting libraries was touched upon. Speaking, doubtless from his

experience as chairman of the Newcastle Public Library Committee for a quarter of a century, he had no hesitation in declaring that the work of public libraries was becoming more and more educational in character. The public showed an improving taste for good literature, and this was reflected in the library issues. It was pleasant to hear a frank declaration that it was as much the duty of public libraries to appeal to the rich as to the poor, and to the learned scholar no less than the ardent student; for in these days we yet meet the view that libraries—especially with the obnoxious 'Free' added to the title—save in so far as they are useful to betting men, are only for the sleepy poor. Sir William Bailey, in a characteristically humorous speech, alluded to the technical libraries of Paris and pointed out the advantages offered by libraries to those who were anxious to enlarge their knowledge.

Following on in similar lines Professor Mark Wright touched a practical issue in his paper on 'The Function of a Public Reference Library in relation to Secondary and Higher Education of a Community.' Ordinary students, said he, do not, and cannot, use the reference departments of public libraries. 'The definiteness of the work, the anxiety of the teachers, and the claims of examinations'—does this mean cramming?—'all tend to limit the number of books used, and the text-book is supreme.' Each teaching centre should regard its own working library as no less essential than its laboratory, but libraries might occasionally lend sets of books to students working by themselves. Special cata-

logues might also be published for students who might find it desirable to use the library for expensive works of reference, and the librarian might advise them both as to the use of the catalogue and as to the best books for the reader's purpose. 'English people did not suffer,' he said, 'when brought into competition with others, but the emptiness of the leisure of the people struck him as something appalling. It might conceivably lead to a revision of our educational methods, and a change from the strictly utilitarian to a more general standpoint would tend to lead to libraries.' At present students found 'all time employed, and none left for contemplating and thinking.' The discussion which ensued was not exclusively cognate to the subject; but it was soon evident that the somewhat depressing views contained in Professor Wright's paper, were by no means the last words to be said. Sir William Bailey immediately took up the statement as to the effect of foreign competition with Englishmen; and Mr. Archbold drew attention to points of contact between education authorities and libraries. There was a general feeling that Professor Wright had somewhat underrated the elasticity of public libraries as co-operators, and a hint was thrown out that inter-library loans would tend to enable libraries to lend sets of text-books for school and similar purposes. Incidentally Mr. J. C. Dana, of Newark, N.J., mentioned that in the United States it was by no means uncommon for libraries to provide quite a large number of text-books for class purposes; and if funds permitted English libraries could do the same. It is simply a question

of means. The Professor carried the entire Conference with him when he pleaded for good type, good paper, good illustrations, and good binding.

Mr. G. H. Elliott, in a thoughtful paper, discussed 'Methods of popularizing books other than Novels.' Not that novels were objectionable in themselves, but new avenues of knowledge should be opened out, and the librarian should, not too obtrusively, seek to develop the wider use of more serious works. The display of books, the two-ticket system, open-access and other devices were rapidly surveyed, and the writer drew attention to the high price at which many standard works were issued. It was, in his opinion, very doubtful whether the publishers knew their own interests best in charging so much; at all events, it resulted in limited editions, and made it difficult for libraries to purchase as many as they otherwise would do. After all, however, the novel was a great popularizer of the library, and librarians must seek to regard it as a pioneer. It was felt that if readers could be induced to pass from, say, 'Hypatia' to 'Theodoric the Goth,' and from that to 'Italy and her Invaders,' that the position of the novel in libraries was amply justified. A vigorous discussion was inaugurated by Mr. J. Potter Briscoe, who particularly recommended short library lectures, while library bulletins, topical lists, school lists, and other methods were dilated upon in a suggestive manner.

At Leeds, last year, the chief item was the problem of co-operation between public libraries and public education authorities. This year was submitted the interim report of the large and influen-

tial committee which has the matter in hand. The committee presented nineteen suggestions with respect to co-operation with the local education authority. Among others they proposed the establishment of circulating school libraries in all elementary and secondary schools, such libraries to be financed by the education authority and administered by the librarian of the local library authority. Supplementing these should be travelling 'subject' libraries on questions of especial interest to the various schools; and, behind these, special reference collections 'at every place where education is carried on.' Special loans to schools, and a generous treatment of teachers and elder scholars; school-visits to libraries; the provision of up-to-date technical collections (including photographs), loans of pictures, and close and systematic co-operation, based upon frequent conferences, were submitted for consideration. In return for such assistance it was expected that the local education authority would make grants to the library authority.

The five suggestions for co-operation with University Extension Centres were — publicity, the preparation of lists based on lecturers' recommendations, the temporary withdrawal of books from ordinary circulation for the benefit of students, the provision of lecture hall accommodation at libraries, and the representation of the library on the extension lectures committee. The Home Reading Union interests were protected by proposals that books recommended by the Union should be placed upon the library shelves; that all library authorities enroll themselves as honorary members of the Union

so as to receive the publications of the society; and that the reading circles should be formed, if possible within the precincts of the library. In closing, the writers of the interim report expressed the opinion that every library should be classified on systematic lines, and that catalogues should be annotated; whilst the final paragraph (30) raised the important question 'whether the public library should not form an integral part of the national educational machinery.'

A lively discussion soon began, but it was obvious from the outset that until time for reflection had been allowed it would be impossible to pronounce with any appearance of finality upon the scheme. Nothing more than an indication of feeling on general policy was expected, but Mr. J. C. Dana, at the request of the President, favoured the Conference with his conclusions on school libraries in America. On his side of 'the water' permanent school circulating libraries had not been very successful. A growing practice in America was for the library to own and control all books in school libraries except a few retained as a small reference section. The local library catered liberally for children, and teachers were invited to select such books as they thought might be useful to their classes. No vexatious restrictions were imposed upon such loans, but the schools were regularly visited by a representative from the library, and the volumes were constantly overhauled and kept up to date. These school collections were changed from time to time. He advocated close co-operation with teachers rather than with headmasters or head-

mistresses, and expected great things from thus coming into touch with the rising generation. Mr. Dana's statements were warmly received, and will doubtless receive due consideration. Meanwhile it was resolved to print off copies of the tentative scheme as submitted, for the use of anyone desiring them, and the whole matter was referred back to the committee to be brought up again, presumably next year.

The afternoon session was devoted to the subject of Local Collections. Mr. W. H. K. Wright led off with a kind of general introduction, his paper bearing the title of 'What should be Collected, and How to obtain Material.' Mr. R. T. Richardson followed with 'The Classification and Arrangement of Local Collections.' Nothing very startling was revealed in either paper; probably because the subject has been considered before; but Mr. Wright insisted upon the necessity for comprehensiveness, indicating by way of example what he was doing at Plymouth, where the local collection has a more than local fame. Mr. Sidney Webb some years ago preached from the text of completeness, and drew attention to the fact that librarians were not always careful to collect ephemeral publications and minutiae of apparently small value. A third paper, on 'Local and County Photographic Surveys,' was submitted by Mr. T. Duckworth, who had no difficulty in persuading the Conference to recognize the value of photographic records. Methods of collecting such desirable material, and plans for dealing with it, when acquired, were dealt with in detail, and a fine collection of records, arranged in an adjoining room, afforded

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eloquent proof of the correctness of Mr. Duckworth's contentions. His suggestions were quite in keeping with the prevalent note of co-operation, for he advocated the establishment of societies of photographers, amateur or professional, to secure pictures of existing and vanishing objects and aspects, and proposed that a complete set of such views should be preserved at the local public library.

The third morning session was concerned with the important questions of book selection and annotation. Mr. Septimus Pitt, of Glasgow, described a system of 'Practical Accession Work,' basing his observations upon the methods adopted by Mr. Barrett at Glasgow. Mr. E. A. Savage made a favourable impression with a practical paper upon the 'Principles of Annotation.' Annotation he defined as 'the art of giving expression to, or crystallizing, the individuality of books': it should be concise and descriptive, content to state the scope of the work, without attempting, except under special circumstances, to assume the doubtful virtue of criticism. He indicated sources of information likely to be useful to the annotator, and drew attention to the frequently valueless character of newspaper reviews, which had a tendency either to avoid the subject or to puff the book, regardless of its shortcomings. Co-operative annotated cataloguing had been tried in England but had not succeeded; there were not sufficient annotated catalogues yet in use. He regretted that the cards of the Library of Congress were not annotated, and prophesied their ultimate breakdown on that score. Mr. E. A. Baker, in opening what turned out to be one of the best discussions

of the meeting, defended critical annotations, but subsequent speakers failed to show anything approaching agreement in the matter, and English opinion seems to be just as divided upon it as American opinion was last year.

A conspicuous feature of the meetings was an exhibition of periodicals arranged in classified order, and displayed around the room in such a way that it was impossible to avoid seeing them. A catalogue<sup>1</sup> of these English and foreign publications had been prepared by Mr. J. D. Brown, who submitted the closing paper, on 'The Best Periodicals.' Drawing attention to the wideness of the scope from which librarians might choose, he remarked that examination of a number of library reports had convinced him that about 60 per cent. of the sum spent by municipal libraries upon periodicals went to ephemeral publications, whose chief, if not only claim, was their popularity. The balance of 40 per cent. was not sufficient for the purpose of providing scientific and otherwise serious current literature, and he would like to see the proportions reversed. It was a somewhat curious outcome of this exhibition and its accompanying paper that an opinion that news-rooms should be abolished from the libraries altogether should find favour. At all events the statement was made, and was not seriously challenged. In fact, it seemed to be well received; but perhaps the pressure of time hindered this view from being taken up and properly discussed. There is something

<sup>1</sup> This catalogue has now been issued as No. 8 of 'The Library Association Series,' and is obtainable at Whitcomb House, price sixpence.

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to be said in favour of such a revolution ; but a great deal may be said against such a drastic measure, and Mr. Brown's object was to mend rather than to end the existing condition of things. The immediate practical outcome of the debate was to pass a resolution expressing the regret felt by the Association at Mr. Stead's decision to discontinue the ' Review of Reviews ' Index to Current Periodicals, on account of insufficient support, and the Council was requested to inquire what assistance would be required to ensure its continuance.

This concluded the programme of papers, but during the final afternoon session the Committee Section considered reports on the Limitation of the Library Rate and on the Education of Library Assistants. No legislative progress had been made with the Bill for the removal of the penny limit, but the committee hoped for better success during the next parliamentary session. The report of the Education Committee was most encouraging. The work had been systematized and extended; the arrangements for the forthcoming winter season were upon a wider scale than heretofore, and by way of novelty, correspondence classes were about to be started. It was hoped that the response would be such as to justify the arrangements, and an appeal was made to librarians to facilitate the attendance of assistants at classes.

In another part of the building, by a necessary—but unhappy—arrangement, the Catalogue Rules Revision Committee at the same hour submitted its draft of amended rules for author and title entries. Mr. F. Wyndham Hulme, in presenting his

report upon the work of the committee, drew attention to the fact that, as laid before the meeting, the rules were of merely provisional nature, but they indicated the lines upon which the committee were proceeding, and he invited criticism and suggestions. The draft was criticized in detail, but the discussion was not particularly illuminating, the members preferring to have time for testing and experimenting before committing themselves to any change of practice. Mr. Hulme submitted a resolution affirming the desirability of making the code of rules as uniform as possible with the code now under preparation by the American Library Association; and this—the best feature of the afternoon's work—was unanimously carried.

From what has been stated above, it will probably be conceded that it was not the fault of the programme if the Conference failed to reach the high level of last year. Yet it is difficult to resist the conviction that the proceedings fell somewhat flat. Exactly how or why this should have been it is not easy to say; but it will probably be found that the inconclusiveness of the business done was largely attributable to the fact that the two most important items on the programme were rather sprung upon the meeting, and were offered for preliminary consideration only. We refer, of course, to the reports of the interim report of the Committee on public education and public libraries, and to the provisional report of the Catalogue Committee. But although these somewhat overshadowed the other items, it must not be concluded that the Conference was by any means a failure. The work

done, and the new ideas started, cannot be measured off or weighed out with such precision as to specify the particular value of each; least of all is it possible to estimate the benefit of the private interchange of ideas upon schemes new, old, or as yet untried. The Newcastle Conference was at least as successful as many of its predecessors; and if the interim character of some portion of the programme detracted from immediate effectiveness, the papers were well up to the mark, and the discussions, if not brilliant, were useful.

On the score of hospitality Newcastle left nothing to be desired, and the evening at the 'Lit. and Phil.,' where knowledge and humour were so charmingly blended on the same evening by three distinguished Novocastrians, will long remain a pleasant recollection. Only in one particular did the Conference show a weakness. With no desire to be captious, and knowing something of the amount of trouble such meetings entail, we cannot but regret that the exhibition of 'Best Books' was not more representative. It was much smaller than at Leeds, and some of the books scarcely came within the limit of time as specified. This feature was so highly appreciated last year that we hope the Council will be encouraged to endeavour to extend it, and that librarians will avail themselves of its advantages freely enough to justify the publishers to forward their volumes for inspection. The lists of books, on the other hand, are more numerous than a year ago, and since circumstances prevented these lists from being laid before the meeting, we presume, and hope, that they will

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appear in the 'Library Association Record' at an early date.

The last note shall not, however, be one of complaint but of congratulation. To the success of the Leeds meeting the address and remarks of Mrs. Fairchild contributed not a little. At Newcastle the observations of Mr. Dana were a conspicuous feature. Our American visitors have made hosts of friends, and have left such pleasant recollections behind them that, pending their return, we cannot but hope that the supply will be continued from year to year.

W. E. DOUBLEDAY.

## ALLIBONE'S 'CRITICAL DICTIONARY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE.'



AMUEL AUSTIN ALLIBONE, the producer of 'A Critical Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors,' was born in Philadelphia, April 17th, 1816. He was thus (roughly) contemporary with Gladstone, Disraeli, and Darwin in this country, and with Longfellow in his own. Biographical details of Allibone are difficult to obtain, and the story of his life has not been well told. Biographers are either sympathetic or the reverse. Allibone did not receive that posthumous punishment which some writers mete out to those of their deceased fellow-beings whose deeds they are called upon to record. But I cannot think that the Reverend Mr. McConnell's<sup>1</sup> short account, though penned in a sympathetic strain, does the great bibliographer justice. It is a little too uncritical. Mr. McConnell has nothing but praise for his hero.

In his early and middle life Allibone was engaged in mercantile pursuits. In these he did not shine, and he appears to have been overburdened with that virtue of which a little goes a very long way in commerce—conscientiousness.

<sup>1</sup> McConnell: 'In Memoriam. . . . S. Austin Allibone.' Siddall Brothers, Philadelphia, 1891.

Comparatively early in life he started on his vast scheme of a 'Dictionary of Literature.' In the preface to the first volume he tells us what led to the idea. 'Of 650,000 books printed in the English language,' he says, 'about 50,000 would repay perusal. If a person read 100 pages a day or 100 volumes a year, it would require 500 years to exhaust such a library.' To circumvent this feat, impossible under the conditions of human life, he contended that it was just as important to have a dictionary of books and of authors as one of words. You go to a lexicon and in a very short time become acquainted with the history and meaning of a single word; why, therefore, should you not find in a similar compilation the history of every individual who has written, a short account of what he wrote, and the views in brief of other men upon his writings? Such was the task our author (for it is almost a libel to call him a compiler) set himself to accomplish, and how worthily he acquitted himself of it is shown throughout the three thousand pages of the three volumes. Of course, certain reservations must be made. It was impossible that errors should not occur in a work of that magnitude. But the spirit of true and just criticism overlooks such mistakes when the 'Dictionary' is regarded as a great whole.

The following anecdote very aptly shows how the laugh in the case of Allibone's 'Dictionary' was turned against the fault-finders: 'A great many years ago, when Thomas Hughes was visiting America, the head of the house of Lippincott showed him over the Philadelphia establishment,

the visit coming to an end with this *contretemps*: "Now, Mr. Hughes, I want to show you one of our greatest publications—Allibone's Dictionary. It contains some information about every author of any account in England and America. Now, let us see, for example, what it says about Mr. Thomas Hughes." So he turned to "H," and lo! the name of the author of "Tom Brown's School Days" wasn't there.<sup>1</sup> This amusing but malicious story is one of those half-truths that do a man more harm than an absolute lie. It was freely circulated in the American press soon after Allibone's death, but the then editor of the 'American Library Journal,' the late Mr. Charles A. Cutter, when quoting it in 1889, came forward with a vigorous defence of his friend. The 'Dictionary,' he said, only professed to include the first half of the nineteenth century, and Mr. Hughes' first book belonged to the second half; it was published in 1857, and published, moreover, anonymously, under the disguise of the words 'By an Old Boy,' so that unless anyone was in the secret it would have been very hard for the 'mere man' of the fifties to discover who the 'Old Boy' was, out of all the scholars that Rugby turned out.

So much for a cheap attempt to prove that Allibone's methods of compiling his dictionary were slipshod and haphazard. As a point of fact nothing could excel his general thoroughness.

It would have, of course, been impossible for him personally to inspect all the books and editions of books, the titles of which he gives. But Allibone's task was greatly lightened by the width of his own

<sup>1</sup> 'Library Journal,' 1889, vol. xiv, p. 486.

reading. From boyhood he had dwelt among books, until they had become part of his very being.

So far as the mere cataloguing of the books was concerned—though that in itself was a great work—he had access to the collections of the libraries, great and small, of the United States. Fifty years ago library administration and enterprise in America were far in advance of what they were at the same era in England and Europe generally. By that I mean to say that where you would find one man like Panizzi carrying out reforms, as he did at the British Museum, a dozen might be picked out here and there in the great American cities, who were striving according to their lights to make the libraries over which they had charge models of accessibility and usefulness. Allibone, therefore, had all in his favour as a catalogue compiler. This he considered, however, but a tithe of his work.

Annotation of the contents of books is a practice of very old standing. The Reverend Samuel Fancourt, whom I have already shown<sup>1</sup> to have probably been the founder of circulating libraries in London, padded out the Crane Court Catalogue very liberally in this fashion. But there are comments and comments, and there is all the difference in the world between the quaint, amusing, and instructive notes and anecdotes made in the catalogues of the late Mr. Quaritch, and the tame remarks made by some librarians, and publishers too, of the present day, after the books in the lists they issue.

<sup>1</sup> 'The Library,' New Series, vol. i.

Allibone's method was a very different one to that. In the case of every author of repute, and in that of many a writer whose merits are undoubted, but of whom the world at large knows little or nothing, he made it his first object to give correct biographical details. Next followed a character sketch and then a list of the author's works, and various editions of each book. To every important production will be found appended a group of criticisms if the name be a very well known one; a less number in the case of those who have never been fortunate enough to become 'household names.' But Allibone made it his object to give at least more than one critic's estimate, and if opinion varied, so much the better. The value of this method was explained by our bibliographer in his preface affixed to the first volume. After stating that the criticisms and comments upon the speeches and literary productions of Edmund Burke were found floating about in books and pamphlets, often difficult to procure and troublesome to examine, he continued: 'In the present work they will be found in the whole or in part, arranged in a few pages under the name of Burke. Such an article alone is well worth the price of the whole book.' In similar fashion he demonstrates the usefulness of his having collected a batch of notices commending the poems of his compatriot, William Cullen Bryant. Allibone had none of the mock modesty of the present-day writers of 'fore-words,' printed in delicate italic type. He boldly advocated the usefulness of the production he was giving to the public, and the literary public of that day thought none the worse

of him. Macaulay, Cardinal Wiseman, Prescott, Holmes, Irving, Bryant, Longfellow, Whittier, Bancroft, Brougham, Carlyle, Sir David Brewster, De Quincey, Disraeli, Dickens, and Lord John Russell are specially mentioned by Mr. McConnell as paying high personal tribute to the value of the 'Dictionary.'

Allibone's most extensively annotated article is, naturally and rightly, that devoted to Shakespeare. He first takes his biography—so far as it was then known. Perhaps the most amusing quotation he gives is Howitt's story of his encounter with the lineal descendant of Shakespeare's sister, in the shape of a poor schoolboy whom he stated he picked out from a row of village scholars, because, as the schoolmaster said, 'the Shakespeare cast of countenance was there.' He also quotes a sarcastic comment in the 'Athenaeum' of 1857 on Landor's indignation at the poet's descendants, the Harts, being found in poor circumstances, and on his enthusiasm to get up a public subscription for them.

Next follows his list of editions of Shakespeare's works—the poems, the plays separately, and the collected editions of the plays, and plays and poems. There is a facsimile of the title-page of the First Folio. Incidentally, Allibone mentions that his friend and patron, Mr. J. Lenox, possessed one of the two copies bearing the date 1622, and that it was Lenox's opinion that the last '2' in the date had been altered from '3.' Horne Tooke's trenchant comment on Shakespearean commentators, which did not escape Allibone's attention, is worth reproducing:

'The first edition is the only one, in my opinion, worth regarding: and it is much to be wished that an edition of Shakespeare were given *literatim* according to the first folio: for by the presumptuous license of the dwarfish commentators, who are forever cutting him down to their own size, we risk the loss of Shakespeare's genuine text, which that folio genuinely contains.' Tooke had the satisfaction of seeing his wish carried out, for the First Folio was reprinted in 1807, about five years before his death.

After a catalogue of one hundred and sixty-six modern English and American editions of the plays and poems and some fifty translations into various languages, follows a long list of quotations regarding the poet both in prose and verse, Spenser, Milton, Dryden, Akenside, Johnson, Addison, Burke, Scott and von Schlegel being laid under contribution. And lastly comes a list of Shakespeariana no less than nine hundred and fifty-four in number.

Much the same arrangement is followed throughout the twenty-four pages devoted to Milton, and the fifteen which Allibone gives up to Sir Walter Scott. These combined biographies and bibliographies are full of interest, but to enlarge on their contents would be an act of injustice to other writers and out of proportion in a limited space that can be claimed for an article such as this.

It must be noted, however, that Allibone's biographer, Mr. McConnell, after the manner of injudicious critics, has selected for praise some of the sections of his author's works that are least worthy of it. Mr. McConnell, in referring to the

notice and bibliography of Darwin, states that Allibone possessed a wonderful power of estimating modern writers—Darwin among them. My impression, gained from reading this notice, is that Allibone knew very little about Darwin; as the date of his birth, place of education and home are all omitted. As in numerous other instances, Allibone obtained favourable reviews of Darwin's early productions, but without the full references, which in this case was unfortunate. Chapter and verse should be invariably given in matters of scientific interest, or the quotation loses half its value.<sup>1</sup>

The section on Franklin is called a 'dainty miniature of two-and-a-half pages,' rendering a faithful portrait of his life, ancestry, habits, and a close estimate of his personal, political, scientific and literary qualities. Here again the praise is misdirected. Allibone did as much as this for countless other English and American writers, giving in addition full lists of their productions—at least as full as he could make them. He also did more than this. Men who have had one paper published in the early 'Philosophical Transactions,' those whose sum total of literary production has been a single sermon or a funeral oration, have not been denied by Allibone the posthumous satisfaction of having their efforts displayed in full. Yet Benjamin Franklin's writings, whether books or pamphlets, were estimated to amount to upwards of three hundred. It

<sup>1</sup> This want of complete references is a general though by no means universal fault throughout the 'Dictionary.' In the purely literary articles it is of less consequence than in the historical and scientific.

seems curious, therefore, that his fellow countryman, who took such evident pains over writers not only on his own but also on this side of the Atlantic, should not have set out Franklin's productions in at least some detail. Instead of this he merely discusses the question as to which was the most complete edition of his collected works.

It is not noticed by his biographer that Allibone, in common with other American writers, walked into the trap of a very curious literary error,<sup>1</sup> by treating as genuine certain letters which are assigned to Milton's pen in a novel published in 1852 by Mrs. Prothesia S. Elton, wife of Romeo Elton, formerly a professor in Brown University, entitled 'The Piedmontese Envoy; or the Men, Manners, and Religion of the Commonwealth: a Tale.' In one of these letters Milton was made to refer to Roger Williams, the founder of Rhode Island, as 'that noble confessor of religious liberty,' and Dr. Francis Vinton, in an appendix to his historical address, 'The Annals of Rhode Island,' delivered and published in 1863, quoted this and other extracts to prove the intimacy of Roger Williams with Milton. Allibone, accordingly, in his article on Roger Williams, quotes the passage referring to the patriot of Rhode Island, not as what Milton might have said, but as what he actually did say. It is pretty clear, therefore, that Allibone can never have read Mrs. Elton's book, but simply took Dr. Vinton's statement on trust. When historians and bibliographers go astray others will follow like

<sup>1</sup> See an interesting account in the 'Library Journal,' 1877-78 vol. ii, p. 80.

sheep through a gap in the hedge. The next, and it is to be hoped the last, person to make this absurd mistake was the Rev. Dr. Schaff, another American writer, in his work on 'The Creeds of Christendom.'

Not even the fairest-minded historian or bibliographer is devoid of the shortcoming of prejudice. Allibone's special *bête-noire* was Warren Hastings, but it is only just to him to say that he shared this dislike with many of his age who had not learned to survey the memory of the empire-builder with the impartiality of more recent biographers. Hastings was in no sense an author at all, except in that of writing the ablest political and official despatches ever penned, but Allibone has a paragraph for him in which he labels him as a 'wicked and unscrupulous tyrant': no second opinion being here admitted. Elsewhere he pounds Dr. Gleig, Chaplain-General of the Forces, with a vigorous denunciation of his one-sided advocacy of Hastings. This he did with more justice, for it is certain that Gleig's partiality for his hero was not based on documentary evidence, but on blind conviction.

Under the article on Samuel Ayscough, author of the 'Catalogue of the MSS. preserved in the British Museum,' published in 1782, Allibone got together all the *pièces justificatifs* he could find on the subject of good indexing. The principal of these were passages from Nichols' 'Literary Anecdotes,' Henry Rogers' 'Vanity and Glory of Literature,' Dr. Johnson's letter about a new edition of 'Clarissa Harlowe,' and Fuller's 'Worthies.' He also cited Scaliger's epigram written after finishing

his index. After this one would have expected at the end of the third volume the most exhaustive subject-index in the world. But with all this 'much cry' there was very 'little wool.' All our author produced took the shape of lists of writers' names alphabetically arranged and grouped under forty of the widest classes of knowledge and forms of literature. He also made confusion worse confounded by publishing as a key a list of indexes and sub-indexes. In this list we find the entry 'Logic,' which refers us to Class 27, 'Moral and Mental Philosophy,' under which are grouped 1,412 names. Of course the searcher may happen to know the names of Mill and Whately, and he picks these out from among the 1412. But then he was just as wise before his search, and the index of names so far is superfluous. Suppose, however, he wishes to get at the names of writers he does *not* know, the *modus operandi* will be that of wading through the 'Dictionary,' and examining that thousand odd list of authors. An index of this sort could very well have been omitted.<sup>1</sup>

Allibone, however, refused to be convinced of his error, but his justification of himself was mainly based on the impossibility of carrying out the plan of his critics, owing to considerations of space and time, an excuse which ignored the fact that in the substitute for an Index actually printed, both space and time had been liberally wasted.

<sup>1</sup> For a detailed exposition of the vicious principle of poor Allibone's Index, see Mr. B. R. Wheatley's 'On an "evitandum" in index-making' ('Trans. and Proc. Conference of Librarians,' London, 1877, pp. 90, 91).

With this exception the 'Dictionary' must ever rank as the production of a master mind, and coupled with the name of its author must be that of his friend, Joshua Lippincott, who bore the cost of the book. Meanwhile Allibone's work had attracted the attention of James Lenox, the founder of one of the finest libraries in the world, now forming part of the Public Libraries of New York City. Henry Stevens has drawn a lifelike portrait of the millionaire bibliographer in his 'Recollections' of that quaint character read before the Liverpool Meeting of the Library Association in 1883. Lenox was as original in his appointment of a librarian as in his other dealings. He cast modern notions of superannuation to the winds, and appointed Allibone to the charge of the library at the mature age of sixty-three, in 1879. But he judged, and judged rightly, that the man for his service must be one whose knowledge of literature was encyclopaedic. Allibone held his post for ten years with high credit, and died at Lausanne in 1889.

Soon after Allibone's death, as is well known, a supplement to his 'Dictionary' was issued in two volumes by Mr. John Foster Kirk, the historian of 'Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy.' I believe the supplement is found very useful, though it is clearly far less interesting than its predecessor. Mr. Kirk has very wisely attempted no index.

ARCHIBALD L. CLARKE.

# LETTERS OF HENRY BRADSHAW TO OFFICIALS OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.<sup>1</sup>

University Library, Cambridge,  
18th January, 1868.

DEAR SIR,



BELIEVE the estimate for printing was originally 17*s.* a sheet (of two pages such as you have received); but the work has been done in such a random way that it is difficult to form an estimate of what it would amount to if done on a system. Sometimes *no old* books were put in, and the slips were confined to new copyrights and new foreign books. Sometimes old books newly bought were put in and sometimes they were entered in the Old Catalogue. Sometimes Mr. Major took a fancy to incorporate articles from the old catalogue into the new—so you have Porson, Gaisford, Tyrwhitt, and a few others done together. Sometimes each book had its own slip; sometimes, if the cataloguer happened to catalogue two or more books under the same head at one time, he put them all on one slip.

Any one of these processes (not to say all work-

<sup>1</sup> The first instalment of these letters will be found on pp. 266-292 of this volume. These new ones are addressed to Winter Jones' three successors in the keepership of the Department of Printed Books. Bradshaw himself was now librarian of the University Library, Cambridge.—A. W. P.

ing by fits and starts) would be quite enough to make it absolutely impossible to derive from them any statistics of value.

My object has been to put a little more method into the matter, and then gradually to open the way for improvement. For this purpose certain laws of our library afford a very good opportunity.

You know, of course, the leading features of our library.

(1) Every one has access to the books all over the place.

(2) It is a circulating library.

The first involves a certain amount of classification on the shelves. The second compels us to deal rapidly with our new literature, because the copy-right books are of comparatively little use unless they can be obtained soon.

In order to prevent unfair proceedings, the rule is that all books before they go into circulation must be exhibited for nearly a week in a conspicuous part of the library. For this purpose a place is set apart and this is filled every Monday morning before the library is opened to the public—and it is cleared on Friday at 12, that is in the middle of the day, when everybody can see it. No books can be taken from this place, but if anyone is particularly anxious (sometimes several persons are anxious) for any particular book, it can only be taken from the shelf when the assistant has placed it there. This sometimes leads to an amusing scene.

It struck me accordingly that this excellent law might be made to serve the purposes of the catalogue, and form a basis of operation.

Accordingly as soon as the different cataloguers have catalogued their books (any books), and entered them in the catalogue of the compartment in which they are to stand, the book with its slip is sent down to the labelling room and labelled, and thence taken to another room. Hitherto the slips had been sent entirely at random to the printers. My method has been to let the books accumulate until the Saturday, and then go myself and place them in order (shelf-order) and go through the slips revising them for the press—and then to send a sheetfull to the press, about 64, never having more than one book on a slip—carefully separating from the rest those of which I had sent the slips to the press, and leaving them there until (after the proof and revises rec<sup>d</sup> and corrected) the fair copy comes on the following Saturday morning.

On that Saturday aft<sup>n</sup> the books are taken up (after the library is closed) to be ready for Monday morning. From Monday till Friday they remain on view. None but newly bought books in this way appear on my printed slips.

By the bye we print 12 or 14 copies only. This, for fear I forget it, is in answer to one of your questions. Here you have the biography of a book and its slips.

At present my object has been to learn as thoroughly as I can what the meaning of the present practice is, and not to alter where I can help it, until I know well what I am altering, and can alter at once. I feel so convinced that in making any change in cataloguing promptness is the only safe method.

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I should very much like to have some conversation with you on the subject. I know it has long engaged your attention—but it is impossible to work such questions by letter.

Yours very truly,  
HENRY BRADSHAW.

Tho<sup>s</sup> Watts, Esq<sup>r</sup>.

University Library, Cambridge,  
12th April, 1869.

DEAR MR. WATTS,

Will you kindly get one of your people to answer me a query?

Johes de Garlandia

Multorum vocabulorum equivocorum interpretatio.

Lond. W. de Worde, 1499. 4<sup>to</sup>.

Synonyma. Lond. W. de Worde, 1500. 4<sup>to</sup>.<sup>1</sup>

Lowndes says that copies of both are in the Museum.

I have always believed that W. de Worde lived in Caxton's House at *Westminster* until 1500 (his *Ortus vocabulorum* which we have, was printed at Westm<sup>r</sup> in that year) and that from 1501 and onwards he lived at the Sun in Fleet Street.

If you really have these two books, it would be very kind if you could let me have a transcript of that part of the colophon of each treatise which contains actually the *place, printer's name and date*, as it is of special importance, as you can readily see.

<sup>1</sup> The address of this book runs: 'in civitate Londoni, apud Westmonasterium,' which explains how Lowndes's statement arose.

I look forward to seeing sometime your Museum catalogue of fifteen century books. I only wish I could induce you to employ my Dutchman Mr. Hessels<sup>1</sup> for the purpose. He has been working under me here, for more than a year past, in most minute typographical researches, and he has a wonderfully keen eye for discriminating kinds of type, and by his series of tracings, he has enabled us to settle all sorts of points which have not hitherto been settled, about the most puzzling German printers. I must thank you very much for your kindness to my boy the day he went. He was delighted with his visit to the Museum.

Yours most truly,  
HENRY BRADSHAW.

Tho. Watts, Esq<sup>re</sup>.

University Library, Cambridge,  
26th April, 1870.

DEAR MR. RYE,

Can you without much trouble tell me two things?

1. Have you in the Museum a copy of the 36-line Latin Bible attributed to Pfister of Bamberg,<sup>2</sup> and if so will you kindly let me know the press-mark that I may not waste the time of any one when I can find time to come to the Museum next? Dibdin mentions a copy on paper, perfect, as being in the King's Library, but his statements generally want confirmation.

<sup>1</sup> The learned author of 'Gutenberg: Was he the Inventor of Printing?'

<sup>2</sup> Proctor 60.

2. Have you in the Museum a copy of the 49-line Latin bible attributed to Mentelin,<sup>1</sup> and if so can you let me have the press-mark? I do not mean the 56-line Bible with the curious R, which is quite a different thing, but there may be a copy of the one I want to see, in the Grenville collection, only the catalogue is rather hazy on the matter.

There is a copy of it in the Spencer library, described as N°. 1042 in the *Supplement* to the *Bibliotheca Spenceriana* (London, 1822, 8°. pp. 39, 40).

The facsimile there given, and the number of lines (49) will be quite sufficient to identify it.

I hope before long to be able to come and see you in your new room, for I have many things about which I want to consult you; but I find it so extremely difficult to get away from my work here.

I want very much to have some united action about fifteenth century books, but it is very hard for a small provincial library like ours to take the lead in such things, and yet your authorities cannot be persuaded that it is fairly to be expected from a great national library that one of the staff should be educated in this branch of bibliography.

I send you a pamphlet on the subject which I have just printed.<sup>2</sup> The thing itself is nothing, but the notes will let you see something of what I want done, if you can persuade yourself to read such dry stuff.

Yours most truly,

HENRY BRADSHAW.

<sup>1</sup> Proctor \*196.

<sup>2</sup> 'A Classified Index of the Fifteenth-Century Books sold at Ghent, November, 1869.' It might fairly be said that from this unpretentious pamphlet all subsequent English work, of any importance, on incunabula took its start.

University Library, Cambridge,  
29th April, 1870.

MY DEAR SIR,

Thank you for the information contained in your letter. The Mentelin Bible is one of the most singular books, speaking bibliographically, that I have ever met, and I can quite understand the Freiburg copy having the rubricator's date 1460. But of this I can tell you more when I have had an opportunity of examining your copies of the book.

You will receive, or perhaps have already received, the Museum copy of my pamphlet from Macmillan and Co. Nobody will ever *buy* it, but there was no need to keep it unpublished so far as that is concerned, and accordingly the very first copies I sent out were the copies for the Museum and the other Libraries.

Yours very truly,  
HENRY BRADSHAW.

W. B. Rye, Esq.

King's College, Cambridge,  
17th October, 1878.

DEAR MR. BULLEN,

I wish you would kindly let one of your people look at the *Commune Sanctorum* in your Sarum Antiphoner and let me know which leaf in signature C begins with the words:

*stituisti eum super opera*  
It must be either Cij or Cijj I presume.  
Yours very truly,  
HENRY BRADSHAW.

King's College, Cambridge,  
19th October, 1878.

DEAR MR. BULLEN,

Best thanks for your prompt answer. Mr. Scott has found an Indulgence among the Harley Charters, as you know. Can you not get it put with your other documents of the kind in the Dept. of Printed Books.

You have Caxton's edition of the same—and this is a copy of one of two editions printed by John Lettou in the type used by him in London in 1480 and 1481. I found a lot of waste copies of both editions (which only differ in the composition) in the binding of a Latin Bible here printed at Cologne in 1480 and bound in London—no doubt by Lettou himself after the date at which the Indulgence ceased to be valid. There are two distinct editions by Lettou, and the Harleian copy is of the one which for convenience I have called *Ed. 1.*

Yours very truly,  
HENRY BRADSHAW.

[P.S.] As apart from the two books of 1480 and 1481, nothing is known in this type except these two ed<sup>ns</sup> of Kendale's Indulgence, it is very desirable that your Dep<sup>t</sup> should possess what it can get.

King's College, Cambridge,  
20th October, 1878.

DEAR MR. BULLEN,

I wrote yesterday about the Indulgence of Johannes Kendale found by Mr. Scott among the

Harley Charters. I wrote from memory, and I was consequently wrong. On looking at the two editions of the Indulgence printed by Lettou, which I mentioned to you, I find that the Museum copy is a third, different from both! I remembered that I had distinguished the two editions by the fact that in the one the superscription occupied the first four lines and that the *Litterae* themselves, beginning with the words *Prouenit ex . . .* began with line 5, while in the other edition there was a certain amount of compression, and the words *Prouenit ex . . .*, began at the end of line 4 after the close of the superscription. (Caxton's *Prouenit ex . . .* occurs in a similar way in the middle of line 5 at once after the close of the superscription.)

Now I noticed that the one in Cart. Harl. 75 E 4 began the fifth line of text with *Prouenit ex . . .* so without thinking, I identified it in my own mind with my *Ed.* 1. But fortunately as I had an hour to spare at the Museum on Saturday last, I copied the whole of the Harleian Indulgence line for line and letter for letter, and on looking at my papers last night, after I had written to you, I found out what was the real state of the case.

You must forgive my writing thus in detail to you, because I look upon you as my natural chief in these matters, as head of the Department of Printed Books in our National Library, so I feel bound to communicate such things to you. This is it. There seems to have been a practice of issuing *parallel editions* of these indulgences with different wordings according as they were to be sold to *one person* or *more than one*.

Prouenit ex tue devotionis affectu

Prouenit ex vestre devotionis affectu

*reuereris—reueremini*, and so on, *tibi* in one and *uobis et utrique uestrum* in the other, and so throughout. Caxton's edition of this particular Indulgence is the *singular* edition, *Prouenit ex tue . . .* though sold by mistake to two people. It is quite possible that he may have printed a parallel *plural* ed<sup>n</sup> of this as he did of that of John de Giglis in 1481, the next year. In any case Lettou printed not only one but two *singular* editions of this one of John Kendale in 1480, of which I can show you complete transcripts when I am next in town. Lettou also printed a *plural* edition of which you have a copy Cart. Harl. 75. E. 4. It was only in January last that I discovered this practice of printing *parallel* editions.

You know the two shrunken slips of the Indulgence of John de Giglis which you got from the St. Alban's Grammar School. Well, when I discovered the two copies at Bedford in 1863 of a second edition of that Indulgence (they were exhibited at the Caxton exh<sup>n</sup>) I assumed until last January that they were merely differing editions of the same thing, because your slips were too fragmentary to supply anything more, and hitherto no complete copy of your slips has been found. But on finding at Durham last January a complete copy (or rather two almost complete copies) of an Indulgence in that type, and having no books of reference at hand, I took the precaution to copy them line for line and letter for letter. On coming home and comparing them with my line for line transcript of the Bedford copy w<sup>h</sup> I made there in August, 1863, I at once saw this curious

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fact that one was a *singular* edition (to be sold to one person) and the other a *plural* edition (to be sold to more than one); and accordingly I have been on the look out for such things ever since. The Bedford copies and our fragment in King's College Library are of the *singular* edition, while the Durham copies and your fragment at the Museum are of the *plural* edition.

The following tabular statement (which I have written over leaf) will perhaps make the matter a little clearer than my letter.

Yours most truly,  
HENRY BRADSHAW.

Johannis Kendale Litterae Indulgentiarum. 1480.

A. *For sale to one person:*

1. (Westminster, W. Caxton, 1480). Broadside folio.  
Copy in the British Museum. Case 18. e. 2.
2. (London, J. Lettou, 1480). Broadside folio. Ed. 1.  
Copy at Jesus College, Cambridge.
3. (London, J. Lettou, 1480). Broadside folio. Ed. 2.  
Copy at Jesus College, Cambridge.

B. *For sale to more than one person:*

1. (London, J. Lettou, 1480). Broadside folio.  
Copy in the British Museum, Cart. Harl. 75. E. 4.
2. No copy of Caxton's known, if any printed.

Johannis de Giglis Litterae Indulgentiarum. 1481.

A. *For sale to one person:*

1. (Westminster, W. Caxton, 1481). Broadside folio.  
Copies (2) in Bedfordshire General Library and  
King's College, Cambridge.

B. *For sale to more than one person:*

1. (Westminster, W. Caxton, 1481). Broadside folio.  
Copies at Durham and British Museum.

442 LETTERS OF HENRY BRADSHAW.

\* \* In addition to those here printed six other letters have been preserved (i) 30th April, 1870, inquiring as to Doctrinales and Donatuses sold at the Culemann Sale, (ii) 30th May, 1870, inquiring as to a Flemish Edition of Paris and Vienne (lot 1840, part viii in Heber Sale), containing fragments of an undescribed English Edition; (iii) 6th January, 1878, forwarding a copy of the 'Notice of a fragment of the Fifteen Oes'; (iv, v) 2nd August, 1882, inviting Mr. Bullen and Mr. Garnett to be his guests at the Library Association Meeting at Cambridge; (vi) 27th November, 1882, informing Mr. Garnett of the despatch of books on loan to the British Museum.

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**THE SWEET MIRACLE.** By EÇA DE QUEIROZ. Translated from the Portuguese by EDGAR PARSTAGE, translator of "The Letters of a Portuguese Nun." Square 16mo. Printed on handmade paper at the Ballantyne Press. In apple green boards with label. Net 1s. (1s. 2d. post free).

\* A delightful legend, with the true flavour of Mediaeval Catholicism, by Portugal's greatest modern story-teller.

**A HANDBOOK OF THE CORNISH LANGUAGE,** chiefly in its later forms. With an Account of its History and Literature. By HENRY JENNER. Demy 8vo, viii+208 pages, cloth. Net 4s.

**PLACE NAME SYNONYMS CLASSIFIED.** By AUSTIN FARMAR. Square demy 8vo. 231 pages. Cloth. 4s. net. (4s. 4d. post free).

### ANNOUNCEMENTS.

#### The Phoenix Library.

**Vol. II.—THE HOUSE ON THE HILL.** Being a Translation of "L'enfant à la Balustrade." By RAOUL BOYLESVE. Translated by JAMES HUTCHESON. Crown 8vo. 6s.

Ready October 10th.

**Vol. III.—DIVORCE.** Being a Translation of "Un Divorce," by PAUL BOURGET, Member of the French Academy. Crown 8vo. 6s.

Ready November.

\* The new volumes of the PHOENIX LIBRARY will, the publisher confidently hopes, increase the reputation of the series in which they appear. M. Boylesve, one of the youngest of French novelists, has already won a place in the first rank. His "L'enfant à la Balustrade" is a charming study, full of delicate and sympathetic humour, of life in a small French country town almost as conservative in its ideas as " Cranford " itself.

A new novel by M. Bourget is an event of European importance. In "Un Divorce" the eminent Academician accentuates his evolution towards a Conservative Catholicism of the most uncompromising kind, and presents a study of divorce conceived in a thoroughly orthodox spirit, whilst at the same time he does full justice to the representatives of modern ideas.

**AUCASSIN AND NICOLETE.** Translated by ANDREW LANG. 16mo. Printed on handmade paper. Title-page in red and black. In full morocco, gilt top, marbled. 3s. 6d.

Ready October 20th.

\* A reprint in elegant and attractive form of Mr. Lang's exquisite rendering of the masterpiece of mediaeval story-telling.

**THE SHADE OF THE BALKANS.** Bulgarian Folk-Songs and Folk-Proverbs, chiefly from the Collections of P. SLAVIKOFF, Translated into English Verse by H. BERNARD. With Critical and Historical Introductions by P. SLAVIKOFF, Dr. E. J. DILLON, and the Translator. Square demy 8vo, upwards of 250 pages, cloth. Net 7s. 6d. Ready November.

**IN THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.** Vol. 31. Folk-Lore of the Muskegie Indians of North America and Catalogue of Muskegie Hand-work, and other Objects in the Collection of the Folk-Lore Society. By MARY ALICIA OWEN. With 3 Plates and Figures in the Text. Demy 8vo. (Ready October.)

CONTENTS.—Mythical Origins—Legend and History—Government—Beliefs—Dances—Birth and Infancy—Puberty—Courtship and Marriage—Death, Burial and Ghost Carving—Folk-Tales—Catalogue of Objects.

\* The above is the extra volume of the Society for the year 1905.

The extra volume for 1903:—"County Folk-Lore, Vol. IV: Examples of printed Folk-Lore concerning Northumberland," collected by M. C. BALFOUR, and edited by N. W. THOMAS, is likewise in the press, and will, it is hoped, be ready early in 1905.

\* A full list of the Folk-Lore Society's publications will be sent on application.

#### The Tudor Translations.

The late Mr. W. E. HENLEY, before his death, had designed to add several volumes to his Series of Tudor Translations. In accordance with his wishes, therefore, the following is in preparation, and will be published shortly.

**Vols. XXXIX-XL—THE ARTE OF WARRE.** Written first in Italian by NICHOLAS MACHIAVELL, and set forth in English by PETER WHITEHORNE, Student in Graesia June, 1560. **THE FLORENTINE HISTORIE.** Written in Italian by NICHOLLO MACHIAVELL, Citizen and Secretary of Florence, and translated into English by T. B. Esquire, 1594. **AND THE PRINCE.** Translated by EDWARD DACHES. 1604. With an Introduction by HENRY COST, M.P.

\* Prospectus and Order Form sent on application.—Two further numbers, Vols. XLI-XLII, completing the Series, are in preparation for issue in 1905. A Prospectus concerning these numbers will be issued later.

**THE ENGLISH BIBLE,** Anno 1611, was completed this year by the issue of Vols. V-VI (Vols. XXXVII-XXXVIII of the Tudor Translations), and may now be had in six volumes, price 44 10s. net.

DAVID NUTT, 57-59 LONG ACRE.

CHISWICK PRESS: PRINTED BY CHARLES WHITTINGHAM AND CO.  
TOKES COURT, CHANCERY LANE, LONDON.

